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THE

HISTORY OF MAGIC.

BY

JOSEPH ENNEMOSER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY WILLIAM HOWITT.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN APPENDIX OF THE MOST REMARKABLE AND BEST AUTHENTICATED STORIES OF

APPARITIONS, DREAMS, SECOND SIGHT, SOMNAMBULISM, PREDICTIONS, DIVINATION, WITCHCRAFT, VAMPIRES, FAIRIES, TABLE-TURNING, AND SPIRIT-RAPPING.

SELECTED BY

MARY HOWITT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

HISTORY OF MAGIC.

PART II.

ON MAGIC IN MYTHOLOGY.

As we now have made ourselves acquainted with a number of the historical facts regarding magic amongst the Greeks and Romans, we may be allowed to cast a critical glance backwards on the mythical ground of the same, in order to justify certain assertions made above,—namely, that the Grecian mythology is throughout of a magical character; that in Anthropomorphism the power of nature is symbolised; that magic reflects itself in the mythology, and in the highest antiquity was a kind of natural philosophy. If the mysteries themselves have remained unsolved riddles, so that we only in a fragmentary and indirect manner can determine the inner proceedings and real nature of them from facts, indications, and signs that have become known, it is clear that all attempts at explanation now must be merely hypothetical. The following hypotheses may, therefore, be allowed, which really spring entirely from the regular basis of mythological facts. Moreover, their probability does not rest on wholly vacillating supports, for they do not lean on invention, but on natural phenomena, which the most ancient mythology has wrapped in symbols, and which in the present times are corroborated by magnetic experiences.

In the first place, the question will require answering, whether mythology be not perhaps a misunderstood natural science, so that at least a great portion of those poetic enigmas may have rested originally on views of natural philosophy. If this were the case, then magic and the healing art under it would be things also to be understood. What evidences are discoverable of magical cures, or the magnetic healing art in mythology? That would be the second question, the proper subject of the following observations, which many may regard as strange, and for which a convincing evidence may not be producible. In the meantime they touch on many truths which rest on natural philosophy, and are calculated to clear up many dark particulars of physical and spiritual life.

"If any one exerts himself to introduce, through natural science, useful things for common life, he may with prudence calculate confidently on general approbation. But when any one is disposed to regard the new light acquired by natural science as Promethean light, and endeavours to avail himself of it in this sense to light up the dark corners of our planet, truly the matter is not so easy as lighting up a dark mine, that is, with a Davy-lamp; and the experiment is not so readily accomplishable. In the meantime, history shows us, by splendid examples, that the question is not an impossible thing; and it shows, to say the least, little penetration and historical knowledge, when any one pronounces in a light gossiping tone on matters which ought to be calmly weighed, that they are empty and impracticable speculations."—J. S. C. Schweigger, Introduction to Mythology through Natural History, Halle, 1836.

If mythology must be taken literally as it stands, and as it usually is taken, then it is an extraordinary fabulous production, both as to its contents and its origin. To philology it is the perpetual and unravelled knot in which all its fine roots lie hidden, and out of which all the branches and blossoms shoot downwards, in order to sensualise the divine and natural attributes of things. To poetry it is the inexhaustible source whence the imagination draws her images and pictures of the physical and spiritual world. For religion mythology is a chaos, through which still the dimmed

rays of the sun of the true knowledge of God, which went down in the deluge, faintly gleam, while she is sensible of a cosmic process at work in it, by which gradually in a mythologic purification the true god-man raises himself, and comes forth as in sublimation. If, now, we do not look upon mythology as that so easily assigned fact, but seek to penetrate behind that fact itself, and to fathom the origin of things there, we then, probably, shall seize the right clue and arrive at the true issue.

Is mythology an accidental work of an indolent and playful invention, or is it a necessary development of an instinctive law of nature, a half-conscious infantine speech of actuality advancing through the dark labyrinth of spiritual life? Is the fundamental principle of action the creative imagination, or is it the force of the feelings and of the religious mind which therein symbolises poetical or religious ideas? Are the symbols and signs something springing up accidentally, or an arbitrary work of man; or are they the orginal bearers and interpreters of necessary powers, which are only so far mysterious as we have lost the key to the symbolic explanation of the facts? In short, take the matter as we may, we cannot by all the known paths arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Spiritual life is invariably only to be comprehended from two sides, the poetic and religious. Shall, then, the knowledge of nature and of spiritual power, which is derived from experience, find no place? How if we should ascribe to mythology a scientific foundation and substance? How, of what kind, and whence ought the theory and the principle to be looked for?

"The real contents of mythology are pre-eminently derived from natural history, and the origin of the myths is one of physical symbolic language founded on a natural necessity." This is perhaps the result of the inquiries of Schweigger in the work referred to, and in his history of the physics of the remotest antiquity, as well as in many treatises in his Year-books of Chemistry and Physics, especially for the year 1826.

Schweigger has shown that a lost natural philosophy of antiquity was connected with the most important religious opinions, and that it had, through that means, the greatest influence on art and poetry. According to our fundamental

ideas on the essential characteristics, on the natural laws and development of spiritual strength, given already in our introduction, there can be no existing revelations for one special language, for poetry and religion, as isolated. The human soul is an indivisible unity of spiritual powers. The sense, which in subjective feeling and representation unfolds itself within, comprehends the external objective world, which the understanding and the mind in self-consciousness again shape into a unity; from which, on the other hand, the subjective impulse and conception in the will come forth again objective in revelation. The operations of the understanding and condition of the will are, according to the different reception by the senses of objective things, and according to the individual constitution, more or less palpable, and the will brings the substance of the operations to the revelation. Now, what must man originally have had for objects of physical contemplation, except Nature herself, in which he so wholly, body and soul, was placed? The immediate ideal contemplations of God, to which the outer senses are not adapted, we shall here leave quite unnoticed, for we are speaking not of man in Paradise, but of fallen human nature: and the circumstances of art must first be attended to. The original representations must, therefore, have certainly been images of natural objects, and the feelings connected with them must consist of pleasure or pain, which would necessarily determine the objective attraction and repulsion of the spectator of them. That in young humanity the representations should be brilliant, and the feeling lively, is a natural consequence; and thence the combinations of such images would be influenced more by a fugitive fantasy than by tranquil reason: and this prevailing ascendancy of the imagination over the understanding is strikingly obvious in the ancient mythologies. Theories were the business of reflection, and came afterwards.

Schweigger, in the works referred to, has in the amplest manner placed side by side the historical evidences in favour of the philosophical, æsthetic, and artistic views, with the physical comprehension of the myths, to which I must refer the reader. I shall here, supported by these inquiries and other sources, endeavour to show that magic in the primeval ages—that is, before the so-called historical period—was

contained in the mysteries, and that the greater portion of those poetical enigmas in the mythology rested, in fact, on views of natural science.

The most ancient monuments of the East and of the Greeks point to deeper contemplations of nature. The imagination of the poets took out of these the material for their serious as well as their sportive images, and therefore the true poet is actually styled by Plato, the teacher of the present and the future; whence the Pythian madness is of more value than the human rationality which is so highly lauded; since in these the most eloquent echoes of the past, and anticipating notes of the future, make themselves heard.

But is the myth equally a poem; and is it, therefore, equally empty and fictitious? To such a conclusion one might easily be led if we received the mythology merely from Homer and the historic times. But the ground and substance of mythology lie far beyond Homer, whom antiquity represents expressively by the phrase of "the wise poet," and as an old man, who, not only exalted above the fleeting youth of frivolity, but over the understanding of the man engaged in the affairs of the world, speaks wisdom, drawing from the past knowledge at once for the present and the future. In the language of Homer all the peculiarities of the age of man and the innocence of the child are expressed,—as the fire of youth, the vigour of man, and the calm reflection of the grey-haired sage; and there also are reflected in his poems the saga of the people and the doctrines of the ancient mysteries; so that the mythology is to be regarded as a code of natural philosophy, and of religious and poetical contemplations, in which natural science, or rather the objective and religious relations, furnish the material, and the poetical the form,—which form Homer first presented to the public in so beautiful and unrivalled a manner. Herodotus himself says that Homer and Hesiod have given the genealogy of the gods, have attributed to them names, honours, and arts, and have described their forms. Herodotus gives his view of them merely as an individual, steering clear of the teaching of the priests: for the priests of Dodona drew the names of the gods from Egypt, there being originally in Greece only one nameless god

worshipped. Such were the foundations of the myths, which Herodotus corroborates, only ascribing their fuller development and adornment to Homer and Hesiod.

But it is not merely the question of a Grecian mythology: every original race has its mythology; the Indians, the Egyptians, the Scandinavians, and the Germans. Everywhere it stands prior to history, and possesses a universal internal resemblance, although the remaining means of understanding these mythologies are greater or less in different countries. The German mythology, for instance, is of all others the poorest and most circumscribed in the means of demonstrating its original completeness. Grimm laments this in his "German Mythology:"—"Here on a dead ground stand trees whose topmost boughs bear green leaves; there the ground is still verdant below, but all the trees are dried up. Seldom are we able to call up to us shapes from the far distant twilight into sufficient distinctness to be able to recognise and describe them." But as the imagination originally embodied objective things and expressive signs and symbols, which is its essential function, the myths have everywhere sprung out of the symbolising, poetical fantasy, and were not first invented by Homer and Hesiod and their age. *Mythology originated in a necessity of nature, and in accordance with ideas which nations entertained of the world, and with the spirit of their language.*

Very beautifully and instructively does Creuzer describe symbolic poetry: although it was by no means his object to represent natural philosophy as the fundamental basis of mythology, yet he really expresses this clearly in his "Introduction to his Symbolism and Mythology," and which we may quote as tending to elucidate what follows:—

"The imaginative compositions and the religions of the nations," he says (Moser's Abridgment, 1822, p. 22), "lie as a fact at the bottom of the general life of things, without any separation of the spiritual and the bodily. This mode of thinking everywhere acknowledges the living and the human from an inward impulse. Man is to himself the centre of the world, and from all the regions of nature life and character reflect themselves back upon him. The perspicuity and figurativeness of writing and of speaking, of thinking and inventing, which prevailed in antiquity, is

not to be looked upon as an arbitrary one, but as an absolutely necessary mode of expression. Man, regarding himself as the centre of creation, thus sees himself in all nature, and all nature in his nature. That which abstract reason terms the operative power, was to his view a person. What we call plastic is thus the impression of the form of thought to which antiquity was addicted, and which the more timid spirit of an educated age cannot altogether withdraw itself from. The old religions lie before us as the memorials of those plastic times whose fundamental character reposes on the creative strength of personification. The elements of nature spoke to man, and she became tangible to him through joy and pain; she expressed to him her sensations in speaking images. That mode of expression brings many characteristics into the focus of a single phrase, which she at once imprints upon the soul, and completes the intuition at a blow. The essential characteristics of symbolism are a hovering and undeterminateness between being and form; the simple light of an idea is in a symbol laid in a coloured ray of signification. This signification, however, arises from the exuberance of the meaning in comparison with the expression. The meaning must be clear; that which is to be expressed must be expressed positively. The comprehensive power of symbols is closely connected with their conciseness, which is only expressive when it is poignant,—when it bursts on us like a flash of lightning, and opens a view into a boundless distance. But only the most important things can be significant—that which originates in the mystery of our being, that which fills and agitates our life; and therefore the ancients were observant of the divine intimations in momentous crises of life; and the embodiment of these they called symbols.

"The strictly symbolical confines itself to the tender middle line between spirit and nature; within these bonds it can avail to render visible to a certain degree even the divine, and is thus so highly expressive. It obeys Nature, merges itself into her form, and animates it; the infinite becomes human, and thus the strife between the two is at an end. That is the divine symbolism; that is the beauty of form united to the highest fullness; and as the Grecian sculpture has most perfectly expressed this, we may call it the

plastic symbolism. The character of necessity in symbols we may also style the symbolic language of nature; for symbols are only a reminiscence of that which speaks to man as an unalterable law of nature: it consecrates the works of man to eternity by reminding us of the eternal course of nature.

"But the Greeks, besides art, knew an expression of higher knowledge of the secret doctrine, which contains the signification—the symbol in the external of an embodied enigma,—αἴνιγμα. Therein especially consists the temple symbolism of Greece and Rome. When the clearness of the scene is wholly annihilated, and only the astonishment remains, so that a certain religious instruction is implied, the symbolism is still more enigmatical, and the key to the mystery is in many cases lost. The symbol is always an embodied idea,—allegory only a general conception; whence the mythos comprehends this, but not the symbol, since in it is a momentary totality,—in the allegory an advance through a series of moments. The myth unfolds itself best in an epos, and endeavours only in Theomythos to compress itself into symbolism. In allegory is freedom; in symbolism the necessity of nature,—both of which conceal a truth."

In the farther observation of the genesis of mythos (p. 31, f.) he speaks of the historical myth, which ordained festivals, &c. to distinguished benefactors, as sons of the gods, in gratitude for their services, and then proceeds:—"Physical occasions for the origination of a myth were probably frequent:—the character or the strength of a beast, the peculiar form or properties of a natural body, and the explanation of these things, propagated itself, according to Pausanias, as a myth. Still more occasion was furnished by the secret operation of the powers of nature, which to the untutored man were so striking. Thence arose a number of relations, in which a physical element or a remarkable phenomenon of nature appeared as the acting personage. Even language was a prolific mother of gods and myths: and still more sprung out of the clothing of symbols, and the locked-up facts of hieroglyphic signs, sagas, and legends. Thus the Mythos divides itself into two chief branches, into doctrine and tradition, which between them comprehend the convictions which, basing themselves on God, nature,

and man, show that the wisdom of all their speculations is embodied in ethical myths, physical traditions, in the knowledge of antiquity and astronomy. The most ancient myths are nothing more than verbal symbols, and thus in the symbolical East the nations are represented as beasts."

Both the symbolising spirit of the ancient natural science and the myth are prior to history, and the mysteries belong to a previous world, from which there have descended to us no evidences to prove whether they were the product of a lost world of civilization, or of the primeval poetical spirit of young humanity. With such speculations we have nothing further to do, but will look around and see how far the mysteries were the interpreters of nature; and what signs they may have contained of the working of nature which yet remain for our contemplation. To this end passages from poetical and historical descriptions of the ancients will avail us, as well as the agreement of modern discoveries of natural philosophy regarding the fixed laws of nature, in the variations and anomalies of phenomena. That great difficulties are to be found here in arriving at truth is obvious, since we are so prone to seize upon what is new as identical with the old, where there is frequently an apparent similarity; and since the antiquities of the mythical ages were so darkly and enigmatically treated by their first transmitters, who, according to all probability, knew far more than they made known. Herodotus says frequently,—"I shrink from speaking of divine things;" that is, of the mysteries, out of which the people's religion first proceeded. Herodotus, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Orpheus, Thales, Parmenides, &c. travelled into Egypt and the East, in order there more perfectly to instruct themselves in natural philosophy and theology; and Herodotus says expressly that he visited the oldest temple in Tyre, in order to inform himself perfectly of the myth of Hercules. Homer himself, to whom Herodotus ascribes only the more extended organization of the Grecian mythology from Egyptian sources, touches lightly on the natural philosophy of the mysteries. Like Herodotus, Cicero also says that he avoids speaking of these things, or passes superficially over them: "I am silent on Eleusis," he makes Cotta say; "those sacred and venerable rites, where the people of the farthest zones go for consecration:

I pass over what is celebrated in Samothrace and Lemnos with nocturnal ceremonies, concealed by woody hedges."

Even far out in the earliest times the material was drawn from ages prior to history. "The ancient, and especially the Grecian art of poetry drew its images out of an ante-historical time," says Schweigger, "for which the sacred sagas interwoven with them, the mysteries, served as a foundation." Plato, in the Book of Laws, states that in Egypt neither the painters nor the artists were allowed within the sphere of religion to invent anything new; but that which had been painted or hewn out ten thousand years before, they were compelled to imitate, and to make the same subjects neither handsomer nor uglier, but precisely of the same fashion. And," adds he, "when we say ten thousand years before, we mean it not as an ordinary figure of speech, but actually." Thus Plato clearly indicates not a mere period of ten thousand years, but the ante-historical type of that world of imagery.

The ancient poets also drew from the same mysteries; and, as Schweigger says, the tragic poets carried this so far, and especially Æschylus, that his representations of some of them occasioned complaints. In the course of time the mysteries became more accessible; and Plato complains of it, wishing that the initiation into them was made more difficult by greater sacrifices. With common people it was forbidden to talk of these things, since they could not comprehend them, and were not accustomed to believe what they did not see. They were also to be on their guard against conversing with ignorant priests and youths upon them. On future occasions the tragedians were the only persons who spoke to the people of the high and solemn truths, at a time when religious culture consisted merely of offerings and ceremonies. "In the mysteries, the truths of nature only were discussed," says Schweigger; and amongst the ancients poetical is to be distinguished from probability in its ordinary sense; for which reason the ancient poets cannot be fully understood "without a knowledge of the mysteries, which are only accessible through a knowledge of natural history."

The Samothracian mysteries are also connected with those of the East and of Egypt, and then again with the later

Grecian and Roman. There is then a continuous, accordant, mysterious, secret doctrine of natural philosophy and theology, so that by the discovery of the knowledge of one we might come eventually upon that of all, as Schweigger has fully shown. But how comes it, it may be asked, that so little has become known of these mysteries, and of their particular contents, through so many ages and amongst so many different times and people? The answer is, that it is owing to the universally strict silence of the initiated. Another cause may be found in the destruction and total loss of all the written memorials of the secret knowledge of the remotest antiquity, so that, besides the votive tables and certain scattered relics of signs and hieroglyphics, nothing remains. What the Persian invasions, and the repeated devastations of the barbarians in Egypt and Greece—what the laying waste with fire and sword and plunder had not annihilated, was completed by the rudeness of the Romans, who, as Pliny relates, on the conquest of Carthage found no book worthy of being translated into Latin but one on agriculture. All the other writings and libraries were given to the small African kings. The Roman people, wandering through the world in desolating wars, learned nothing of the science of the ancient subjected nations: what relics of the secret learning were in existence amongst themselves were for the most part annihilated by the burning of the books of Numa; and the few scattered fragments which yet remained, after several abortive attempts, were finally destroyed by fire. Numa's books, described by Livy, consisting of natural philosophy, were found in his tomb; but they were not allowed to be made known, lest they should reveal the most secret mysteries of the state religion. The Prætor of that time must take an oath that those books should not be published, as destructive to the national religion. The senate and the tribunes of the people determined that the discoverers of these books should be indemnified, but that the books themselves should be burnt, which was done before the people, by the performers of the sacrifices, in a fire kindled for the purpose.

When, however, here and there, any portions of the old natural philosophy were made known, on the spread of Christianity, or a defence of the philosophical nature of the an-

cient myths of Paganism, then arose the Christians with a fiery zeal against the whole of the heathen doctrines, and especially those which reposed on natural science. All miracles which, according to their opinion, God did not perform, were heathen works of the devil; natural philosophers and even mathematicians were obliged to fly, in order to save their lives. From these causes it is not to be wondered that all the remains of ancient natural science were destroyed with the temples and their libraries.

Natural philosophy, poetry, and religion, from their very nature were closely united in the primeval ages, and the most ancient historical accounts show them still maintaining the same alliance; and especially was the science of medicine united with poetry and theology, in the strictest connection, in Egypt, in the East, and in Greece. The Grecian songs upon medical science are ascribed to Orpheus, the poet of hymns. Fragments of poems on natural philosophy, by Parmenides and Empedocles, still remain. Prognostications through natural philosophy were peculiar to the earliest Grecian philosophers; and the doctrine of the gods was established as a part of physiology by Pythagoras, by Plato, and the Stoics. Plutarch, on Isis and Osiris, brings together many ancient attempts at interpretation of important physical myths. That some very widely-extended mystic circles are connected with the most ancient systems of natural philosophy, as in Samothrace, and that heathenism has its origin in a misunderstood science of nature, Schweigger has sufficiently demonstrated in his treatise on the most ancient theory of physics.

But through these medical and philosophical secrets, books and symbols of the ancient world being held secret in their totality, as well as in their fragments, as is still the case in India with astronomical science, this evil arose,—that not only did there cease to be any progress through experimental research, but more and more mistakes were continually arising. For, as Diodorus of Sicily states, the laws of healing diseases were strictly prescribed in the ancient sacred books, and any physician who dared in any degree to depart from them in practice was liable to be arraigned on a capital charge. The science of the early world would, therefore, necessarily remain stationary, or

rather would retrograde from the elevation and the splendour at which it had arrived,—as the perfect memorials of astronomy, of architecture, of painting, of the preparation of mummies, testify; all of which display a profound physical and chemical knowledge. And hereby is explained the singular fact, that, according to Herodotus, in Egypt the art of healing was so distributed amongst the people, that each physician, besides those of the temples, was appointed to the cure of one class of diseases, and not to many; and therefore the country was full of physicians. Some were for the eye, some for the head, others for the teeth, others for the lower part of the body, and others for hidden complaints. All these circumstances worked in direct opposition to progress, and led deeper and deeper down to perfect ignorance; so that the untoward fantasy could at length mould the original meanings at will into poems and legends.

If we wish now to discover the fundamental meaning from the number of mythic envelopments, we must necessarily go back to the primeval wells of mythology themselves, but which lie so far distant, that we need not seek them amongst the Greeks and Romans; for Herodotus has already said that the origin of the significant myth of Hercules seemed to him to lie as remote from his times as it appears to do from our own—that is, in the night of long past ages. Now we know the world in greater circles, and in the knowledge of the natural sciences we stand on an elevation hitherto unknown in history, in which we, by a comparison of the remaining fragments, and by a laborious unravelling of the historical records, entangled as it were in a net, again can discover the original meaning of the symbols. This solution, however, we are in a condition to obtain only by the help of magnetism and the natural sciences, and not in the sense of the literati, by the aid of written records. For the restoration of the ancient text, we can now make use of the discovered remains of signs on the ancient pyramids, and of fallen temples; as the scattered petrefactions enable the professors of natural history to reconstruct and to present before us the primeval creations which existed only before the Flood. Surely there requires for this the learning and the acumen of a Cuvier.

and Goldfuss, if we will bring the mythological symbols of antiquity into agreement with the new magnetic phenomena which are added to the long line of magic. Yet the result of our present inquiries will show that the scattered remains of historical records, taken in connection with the facts of magic, will conduct us to this essential agreement, and to a certain firmly-grounded and more intelligent type.

Through the discovered agreement of the old with the new, we are immediately reminded of expressive and convincing axioms of the highest antiquity, which are especially corroborated by the magnetic experiences,—namely, that nature by her simple elements produces the greatest and the most profound effects. Water, air, and light, and the universal earth-magnetism, are the general powers by which nature performs her secret operations; to which, however, we are not conducted by the ordinary aspect of nature, and still less by imagination, which busies itself with all earthly and heavenly things, except with the deeper and silently-working laws of creation. A speculative philosophy will just as little lead us to a right understanding of it; for conviction, says Bacon, comes not through argument, but through experiment. The laborious, inquiring, severe natural philosophy of our time, demonstrates, however, those unchangeable laws of the universal operations of nature, upon which that ancient secret knowledge and the new magnetism support themselves; namely, that the original power of water, as taught by the Egyptian and Indian myths, and as asserted by Thales, actually perfects the wonderful organizations of vegetable and animal life. That those mythic images of heaven and of earth; of Jupiter reigning in the thunder-cloud; of Poseidon, the earth-shaker, in the vaulted rocks of the subterranean, and of the social alternations of the Dioscuri, have the same foundation as the opposing principle of the Pythagorean theory, and the dogmas of Heraclitus; and that, finally, strife is the principle of production, and burning is the solution of the strife. The doctrine of polarity in electro-chemistry and magnetism shows the universal dominion of those laws in inorganic, and of animal magnetism in organic nature.

The all-governing might of the sun-god, the diffuser of life and of blessings, and, at the same time, of the far-off

striking, the punishing and destroying Apollo, is shown in the all-quickening force of light, whose penetrating and miraculous power of kindling and warming is contained even in the polarity of colours. If the influence of sunshine produces magnetic clairvoyance, as well as the intensity of muscular power, does not this agree with the god of the old vaticination, who taught men the right and the true, according to the all-wise and mighty Zeus?

As the universal activity of the elements of nature is shown in the opposition, so is it also in the universal amity and sympathy of spiritual upper, and the physical lower world. At the same time, the idea is also given that the whole visible world is only an image of a spiritual one; an idea which was expressed by the remotest antiquity, though it was poetically, and which the newest philosophy confirms as founded in the double nature of man. The magnetic phenomena now again afford the most complete evidence of a universal polarity and sympathy, or of a physical and a spiritual world acting on each other in that wonderful doubleness of nature and of spirit. Through the poetic conception of these truths of nature the world of images in every respect took the chief place in the primeval times, when the conceptions, as it were, newly clothed, were embodied in the symbols expressive of the appearances resulting from natural laws; while in the after times, a poetry, fallen away from nature, threw everything arbitrarily into confusion. A philological process, therefore, founded on the spirit of those later ages, leads only to a barren ground, or performs only a labour of the Danaids, if the talent for natural inquiry is totally wanting. The true feeling of nature, and the true meaning of the symbols, may already have been absent in the later mysteries, since, according to Herodotus, these mysteries united themselves to a more ancient period, at the bottom of which lay those principles of natural inquiry,—namely, the Samothracian; and from these mysteries proceeded the religion of the people, in which the true understanding of nature, and the true inspiration of the divine, were continually declining. For nature herself is poetic, higher and deeper than all which the imagination of men can reach: she is in her wonderful phenomena the

plastic expression of the divine creation—a voice of God, which it becomes man to observe carefully, in order to be conscious of the marvels which are continually taking place in the world. The genuine observers and honourers of nature only, they who trace out her signs and listen to her voice, learn the secret of her laws which proclaim their lord; they only are affected by the joyful astonishment at the order and beauty of all her parts, and at the harmony of her momentary and successive operations: so that in time devotion sinks down in love and adoration of the all-wise and all-good Creator, while the rest of the world, as if drunk with sleep, becomes more and more estranged from the Divine, and falls into blindness and superstition. Therefore, all great natural philosophers have been genuinely pious men; therefore, the magnetic clairvoyant, passing out of the dream of day into the wakefulness of sleep, breaks into ecstatic admiration, into poetic effusions and songs of praise, in consequence of this deeper insight into the secret workings of nature and of her symbols, like poetical antiquity itself, in which the knowledge of nature, poetry, and religion, were united.

. True natural philosophy, therefore, conducts to God, and contempt of nature from him. "A spirit striving against new discoveries in nature, from its slavish attachment to the letter of the past, such as we find it in certain periods of history, and especially in the middle ages,—a spirit which is continually reappearing, as at present in the East, and particularly in India, and which regards every attempt at improvement as something futile to government: such a spirit leads directly, through the darkening of the unintellectual eye, from God to the idols of superstition; that is, to heathenism."—Schweigger, a. a. O. S. 105.

A poetry of nature based on a symbolical personification of the power of creation, included in it the double character of man, according to his natural and divine constitution; not only the physiological, but also the pneumatical or psychological marvels. The world is a miracle, and all its operations, the highest and the lowest, have their play therein. Poetry here is truth. All its marvels lead by the tendency of nature to myths: the primeval myths are

the expression of truth itself; the comprehension of these is the only key to them, and this is preserved by watchfulness and love, but lost by stupidity and savagery.

The poetical understanding of nature is, therefore the voice of God,—the highest ideal, which the elements of nature and their powers symbolise. It makes the operations of the mineral and the vegetable kingdom, perceptible through free and instinctive feeling, as the cosmic influence of nature. It endeavours to hold forth the relations of nature to time and space, and, also, to find an expression for the divine qualities of the spirit, to which the visible bodies of heaven are the most adapted, as the physical things and elements of the earth are to the natural man. This the most ancient historians knew and have declared. Strabo says, that the ancients concealed their views of nature in enigmas, and wrapped their scientific observations in concerted myths. Herodotus ascribes the further extension of the Grecian myth to Homer, on the basis of an ancient foundation laid in Egypt. In Homer numerous physical tendencies are indicated; and in the Grecian times there were admirers of Homer who pointed out those tendencies. Iamblichus names expressly a school of prophets, originating in Moschus, whom he calls "the physiologist," and which Pythagoras availed himself of. The ancient historian Sanchoniathon points out the oldest character of the myths to be that of natural philosophy, where he says of the Phœnician Cabiri doctrines, that "the first hierophant, in times incalculably remote, Thabion's son taught them with a mixture of physical tendencies, and delivered them over to the prophets who celebrated the orgies and mysteries."

All the more profound modern inquirers into mythology say the same, either directly or, as it were, involuntarily,—that the ancient myths had a physical foundation. Thus Heyne takes it for granted that the fables originating in the ancient cosmogony and theogony were constructed to embody physical doctrines; and Herder says, that a program of Heyne, on the physical origin of the ancient myths, had especially satisfied him. Creuzer's "Symbolism and Mythology" proceeds chiefly on the supposition of the physical foundation of symbolism, and gives to the myths a priestly physical antecedent. Schweigger has handled this

subject to exhaustion, and has maintained historically, and at the same time experimentally, the source of the myths in natural philosophy, the personification of ideas, and the ensoulment of nature: to whose Introduction into Mythology I again refer the reader.

If, now, the symbolic language of signs in the mysteries has its foundation in natural philosophy, what are the mythical signs which betray magical relations and secret workings of nature? In answering these questions in the region of mythology, I confess to a certain reluctance which has long held me back. But shall not an attempt be permitted to pluck some flowers in that wide, airy field, where so many undertakings find material, often for the pursuit of the most extraordinary adventures? Shall it not be permitted to pursue the once-discovered clue of Ariadne, and carefully to draw things into that region of the circle of magic operations, to which they appear to belong, according to analogy and agreement with the phenomena of magnetism? No longer groping in the dark, but with a certain confidence, we follow that clue into the labyrinth. Yet I again repeatedly assert that I here follow exclusively the traces of the poetical and philosophical, without, at the same time, totally abjuring the theological point of view, or being disposed to assert that the heathen had not a deeper religious sense, that they only sported with their myths, or that they directly worshipped the symbols of nature as gods, of which we have already spoken.

Let us first, however, look round us at the symbols which have in general a physical signification, and then at those in particular which denote a purely magical relation.

We have already seen that the ancient philosophers treated theology as a part of physical science, and that it is openly declared that the primeval doctrine of the gods was founded on natural philosophy, and this with constant reference to an acknowledged anterior period. We have the propagation and the connection of the secret knowledge from Egypt and the East, descending from the traditional period through the Greek and Roman mysteries; and Schweigger has shown (a. a. O. S. 124) "that the ancient forms of the gods could not have arisen from certain ideas, as that of Minerva for wisdom, of Hercules for strength,

etc.; but that they are grounded in nature, and that to understand them we must pass from the poet to the natural philosopher." He has also shown that the most ancient and most influential mythic circle, namely, that descending from Phœnicia and Samothrace, certainly repôses on a basis of natural philosophy, and that it was regarded by the Cabiri and Dioscuri as a hieroglyphic record of electricity and magnetism.

The next circumstances of symbolical embodiment are the general elements of nature,—chaos and night; the regular and the suddenly outbursting forces of nature; the elements of fire, of air, and water; the mutual attraction of the earth and the heavenly bodies, etc.;—whose images are recognised by all authors in mythologic personification.

The eternal foundation-matter of all things was Chaos, which Night produced from herself, and through herself fructified Æther—the all-embracing world-air. According to Hesiod, however, Night is a daughter of Chaos, and by Erebus gave birth to Æther and the Day. The Heaven, Uranus; and the Earth, Titæa, Gæa, produced Time,—Saturn, and the subordinate powers of nature, terrible and unconstrained in the primeval ages. The Titans,—whose heaven-invading violence had, however, no long-continuance, for they already had been thrust down by Uranus into Tartarus, and there, by the continually-clearing upper air of heaven by Jupiter, and by the increasing thickness of the crust of the earth, were for ever shut down into the under-world. Jupiter, who launched his electrical lightnings through wide space, purified the air in the conflict of the elements, and by the falling rain—Jupiter pluvius—peace and harmony arose between heaven and earth. Yet the repressed powers exerted themselves in their negative character. They were hidden by Rhea the wife of Saturn, and they occasionally broke forth again, and made war on Saturn, till Jupiter, a child of Rhea, finally arrived at the appointed sovereignty, and now only periodically, to promote or to proclaim, kindled his gathered lightnings and sent them through the air. All-devouring time must give place to a regular course of life. Rhea, who was delivered of Jupiter, wrapped a stone in a goat's-skin for her husband to swallow; and her priests, the Curetes, the Corybantes, held, meantime, a

weapon-dance, and made such a din with their shields and spears, that Saturn could not bear the cries of the new-born child;—by which, most probably, the production of meteors is intended; for the Idaic Dactyls were, according to the united testimony of mythologists, regarded as having a certain relation to iron, which the Curetes are said first to have discovered.

The air has its positive and negative, its male and female states. It takes up into itself all earthly elements; developes in eternal changes all powers in itself, and begets innumerable children in undiminished youth and beauty. Juno is the sister and spouse of Jupiter. Amongst the natural philosophers, Juno means the lower atmosphere, in which the clouds float and the rainbow appears. "She had countless rivals, who changed themselves into all sorts of shapes," etc. (K. M. Ramler's Succinct Mythology.) "She is the eldest daughter of Kronos, and sister of Zeus" (Il. xvi. 432.) Oceanos and Tethys brought her up, when the all-powerful Zeus thrust Kronos under the earth; that is, the vapour ascending from the sea and the waters mix themselves in the lower atmosphere. According to Ovid (Fast. vi. 285), Hera was swallowed up by her father with the rest of his children, and again vomited forth. The eagle soaring to the sun is the bird of Jupiter; while the earthly, colour-reflecting peacock is the attendant of Juno.

In the interior of the earth, the hidden power of fire works incessantly as the opposing and expanding force of the subterranean air.

Vulcan, a son of Jupiter, received the lordship of the subterrane. Like fire, which at first appears as a feeble spark, was Vulcan at his birth. He was weak, ugly, ailing, slow and limping; but when grown up, and requiring his strength, possessed of a sinewy neck and strong chest. He built a house for himself, which was imperishable, and therein he had his workshop, with his anvil and his bellows, which without hands worked at his command (Il. xviii. 370, lxxii. 470, etc.) The Cyclops, the remnant of the original powers of nature, children of Uranus and Gæa, forged for Zeus lightnings and thunderbolts, dwelling in the volcanic caves. Vulcan appears amongst the Pelasgic gods, the Samothracian Cabiri, as the symbol of electric power, as we shall see, and out of the

common workshop of Hephæstos and Athene is Prometheus said to have taken the life-giving power. For the rest, Hephæstos appears amongst those dark Samothracian divinities, amongst the Cabiri and Axieros. The first Samothracian Cabir is Vulcan. Amongst also the Etruscans he is the lightning-darting god; he stood in connection with Vesta, and had many temples. He was called the renowned in art, the knowing one, the fire-lord, and thence the Lemnian, on account of the volcanic island, and the oracle there.

Like the earth, the air, and fire, water is an original element: according to Hesiod, Oceanos, the eldest of the Titans, the husband of Thetis, by whom he was the father of 3000 streams and as many small seas. According to Homer, Oceanos is the Great, the earth-encompassing world-stream. He is the original fountain of all that is, the origin even of the gods—θεῶν γένεσις (Il. xiv. 201), of those who confer all birth and production. Out of his waters ascend the rising stars, Eos and Helios, and he has his sunshine in the east; and in the west, his departure.

Neptune, the god of the sea, especially of the Mediterranean, and of the islands, bears the tridental sceptre, and in the war with the Titans stood firm by Jupiter; he plunged the hundred-armed Briareus into the sea. The relationship of the water with the air; the mutual working through each other in the tempest of war, as in the production of living plants and beasts out of the earth, is symbolised in it. He has his dwelling in the depths of the sea; that is, his slumbering and characteristic strength. There stand his horses; but, as the monarch of the sea, he travels with the swift-footed. He sends storms that make the earth tremble; he gives also favourable winds and auspicious voyages, or holds all fast as the power of the earth (Homer, Il. and Odyss.) The symbols of the electrical powers of the air, the twisted thunderbolt and the sheaf of lightnings, are given to Jupiter, and to Neptune the trident, which is also the symbol of the sovereignty of the electrical powers of the water. Individual rivers, as the Nile (Isis), the seas, the lakes, brooks and fountains, are especially designated by Nereids, Nymphs, Naiads, Dryads, Hamadryads, etc.

Finally, light, the sun, Helios, the sun-god "who lights

the immortal gods and mortal men on the food-producing earth" (Odyss. xii. 285.) Amongst the Egyptians we have already become acquainted with Serapis as the physical image of the sun; with the Greeks, later, it was Apollo. Helios is the all-seeing god (παν δερκὴς), the beaming, the discoverer, who beholds all things (Il. iii. 277). Especially did he take cognizance of wickedness and crime: "he beholds gods and mortals." The quickening power of changes through the sun, in nature, in bodies and spirit, is symbolised in the many children which Helios had by different mothers. Asclepias, Circe, Phantusa and Lampetia, Phæton, the Heliades, etc., are the children of the sun. According to Servius (see Virgil), Helios is the only Titan who remained in heaven, and has not become hostile to the gods. White wethers, white horses, and the cock, were sacrificed to him. He is always represented as young, with a diadem of rays on his head; and the arrows of Apollo originally signified the sunbeams.

It would conduct me too wide from my object if I were to give fresh extracts in addition to those already given from the various authors in proof of the original symbolic language of this mythology of natural philosophy. I can only refer to Jacobi's "Hand-Dictionary of the Greek and Roman Mythology;" "Solger's Remains," published by Tieck and Raumer, second vol.; and "G. J. Vossii de Theologia gentili et Physiologia christiana, Amsterdam, 1668." Nor can we here further carry out the comparison with the mythologies of other peoples, which lead to the same results. The reader may, however, allow me to enumerate the allegoric figures which, at least to some extent, continue to be used down to our own time, both in art and in ordinary life. To these belong the symbols of the years, months, and days, in the shapes of stars, planets, and animals. Of the seasons particularly—Flora, Ceres, Proserpina. The physical images of certain beasts; as of agriculture, the ox; of the soul, the butterfly; of watchfulness, the cock; of sagacity, the owl, etc.

Beyond these I only advert to the farther natural philosophy, figure-language, as it relates to the imponderable elementary forces of electricity and magnetism.

Schweigger shows (Introduction into Mythology, pp.

132, 228), that the Phœnician Cabiri, and the Greek Dioscuri, the Curetes, Corybantes, Telchini, were originally of the same nature, and are only different in trifling particulars. All these symbols represent electrical and magnetic phenomena, and that under the ancient name of twin-fires, hermaphrodite fire. The Dioscuri is a phrase equivalent to the Sons of Heaven,—if, as Herodotus asserts, "Zeus originally represented the whole circle of heaven." That the Sons of Heaven, or the Dioscuri, constantly die and return to life together, while yet it is as imperatively necessary that one should die that the other may live, appears an impossibility. But according to Schulz, one can as little comprehend a vision as we can expect to behold an idea. A physical view of a thing is not to be confounded with a logical one; and thus is indicated the polarity of electricity and magnetism in the most striking manner. We may comprehend electricity under the image of two inseparable individuals: and as the north pole of a magnet only by its attraction to the south pole of another magnet, is discoverable—a fact which may be considered in reference to the whole globe we live on, and just so the one electricity only with reference to its opposite—so here, in the strictest sense, is the case of two such brothers, who live and die together, while yet it is absolutely necessary that one must die that the other may live; and what people have regarded merely as a myth is the simplest, cleverest, and at the same time most profound expression of a strictly scientifically defined truth of nature.

Schweigger continues farther the verbal explanation of the electricity by friction, and the light which produced it, as it was known in ancient times—(see Amber, Elektron, in Theophrastus and Pliny)—and of the pleasantly illuminating but not burning fire connected with it; which wonderful fire had already been noticed by Seneca as allied to the Hermes fire. Farther, in this category may be added the original meaning of the panic fear, and the electrical standing up of the hair, of which the written evidence is only wanting, because it was a law of the Mysteries that nothing should be written. Yet perfectly clear and definite is the old hieroglyphic expression, "for the twin-fires from the electrical spark are sketched in a very natural manner in the representations of the Dioscuri on ancient coins."

Quite as striking are the modern electro-chemistry and electro-magnetism in the pictures of the Dioscuri, according to the ancient opinion of Heraclitus, that the contest of opposing forces is the origin of new bodies, and that the reconcilement of these contending principles is called combustion. This is, according to Montfauçon, sketched in the minutest detail in the engravings of the ancient Phœnician Cabiri, so that even in the antique gems the sheaf of beams represents the positive electricity above; and, on the other hand, the light of negative electricity represented round the head, with the motion downwards, as is the course of lightning, is described with perfect correctness by the position of the figures; one figure standing on the right foot turning itself to the right; the other on the left foot turning to the left, by which the physical intention is clearly demonstrated, that the two inseparable poles, Castor and Pollux, turn to the south pole,—to the left, that is, from the west, southward to the east; the other, the south pole, to the right, from east, southward to the west, etc. Schweigger shows that the known attempts to understand the pictures by the aid of electrical streams, that is, by the phenomena of electro-magnetism, not only fully satisfy the experienced, but that the lovers of physics may, without many words, by aid of that old hieroglyphic language, at once make themselves perfectly acquainted with the principles of those very wonderful agitations (p. 280).

When we have once discovered the word of the physical enigma, all difficulties immediately disappear. And we can now see that these Dioscuri, these same sons of heaven, have their swiftness mythically represented by their golden-hued pinions, by their white horses, their power over the enraged sea; yes, more than this, by their sudden and astonishing apparition, high above the topmost, and the hissing sound in the air by the rushing of their wings; while at once the mountainous waves are stilled, and the already despairing mariners find themselves rescued in immediate proximity of the vision (p. 121).

Antiquity speaks also clearly of magnetic attraction and repulsion. In the sixth book of Lucretius on the nature of things, the marvellous phenomena of the loadstone are thus described:—

"Men see the stone with wonder as it forms
A chain of separate rings by its own strength.
Five, and oft more, are hanging in a row,
A play to the light winds, one waves beneath another,
Borrowing their binding strength from the strange stone,
Such power streams out from it, pervading all.
But sometimes it doth happen that the iron
Turns from the stone, flies it, and is pursued.
I saw the Samothracian iron rings
Leap, and steel-filings boil in a brass dish
So soon as underneath it there was placed
The magnet-stone: and with wild terror seemed
The iron to flee from it in stern hate."

The poet speaks of the Samothracian ring, and of the magnetic experiments in the most ancient mysteries. I shall yet speak further of these magnetic rings of the old mysteries, and here only add Schweigger's remarks, that the editions of Lucretius, Lambertin, and Faber, ascribe to these Samothracian rings a secret power of averting anything injurious, which power was communicated to them through conservation in the mysteries. It is worthy of observation, also, that the priests of Jupiter wore similar rings.

The armature of the magnet also, and its wonderful strength, are described by the ancient writers; and through these the myth of Hercules is made very significant. The Herculean stone in Pliny is clearly a synonym. This writer seeks by rhetorical arts to prove why the magnetic stone in antiquity was called the Herculean stone. "As the rock echoing," he says, "as it were, acquires speech, so the sluggish hardness of the stone has received from nature feeling, and, as it were, a heart in the magnet. What less compulsory than hard iron? But here it gives way; assumes manners; allows itself to be drawn by the magnet; and while it conquers everything else, it runs after I know not what non-entity, and as soon as it is come near, it stands still, and permits itself to be held and hung up, as it were, in bonds. Therefore some persons still designate the magnetic stone by the alias of the Herculean stone." Thus the name of the magnet is not derived from a city dedicated to Hercules, but because magnetic and Herculean mean the same thing. "Had Pliny known," says Schweigger, p. 236, "that magnetism is an absolutely unconfinable, invi-

sibly-penetrating power, by which the naming of Hercules as the invincible is justified; had he known that the same power might become so universally useful to seamen through astrologic signs, since it shows especially the place of the pole-star, the guide of the ancient mariners; and that therefore Hercules was justly named the Astrologer, the Soothsayer, and the Index—nay, that he was with justice looked upon as the teacher of navigation, which magnetism really is. The Phœnicians, who made greater voyages than any other ancient nation, ascribed them to Hercules, who for their accomplishment used a cup or goblet received from Helios in the remotest western regions, in which must have laid a northerly-directed influence, for 'there Helios sunk in the western sea:' that this turned constantly to the north while, in fact, magnetism in a wonderful manner daily turns towards Helios his arrow, which is exactly the character of the western variation of the magnetic needle, and which is at the present day honoured by the Chinese with religious observances, which remind one of the Samothracian mysteries; had Pliny known that this magnetic power is in daily conflict, even with itself, which is the chief feature of the myth of Hercules, who makes wounds and heals them; punishes crimes and is continually falling into them himself, ever in need of expiation; who contended with monsters, and then again as a servant performed female offices, on which account in the mysteries of Hercules at Lydia, as he himself expresses it, that extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of a change of costume, the priests putting on women's clothes, because Hercules exchanged clothes with Omphale, thus expressing the magnetic polarity attached to the same individual; had Pliny known that this slavish Herculean strength bound to the stone can come forth as winged, and that then Hercules awakens from his sleep, like the Idaic Dactyl, or the Phœnician Cabir, as a dwarf, becomes a giant, with mad fury destroys the ships entrusted to his care, while during this natural phenomenon lightnings break forth from the columns that arise out of the sea; had Pliny known that the question here is of a cosmic power, having its home in the depths of subterranean night, but at the same time also in the glittering sun, which in the northern lights through self-com-

bustion ascends from earth to heaven, there had been no rhetorical subtleties necessary to him, in order to establish the highest antiquity of the synonymity of the words Herculean and magnetic, or of magnetism and Hercules."

The reader may find still more proofs of the identity of magnetism and Hercules in the work of Bart, "The Cabiri in Germany." According to Pausanias, Hercules was represented under the image of a rough stone at Hyettos, where the sick came to be healed in a temple. The image of Hercules was not artistically formed, but was a rude stone, according to ancient custom, a ferruginous batilien stone, a thunder-stone. And afterwards in the worship of Hercules, the rude stone, as a proper characteristic, was not wholly neglected. "There is yet," says Schweigger, "a Hermes statue of Hercules wrought out of a touch-stone; while Pliny observes the Lydian stone, or touch-stone, was confounded with the Herculean stone."

Claudian, in his Idyls on the Magnet, speaks in the highest terms of the dark, invisible stone, which first acquires power from iron. He notices cosmic agitations as in connection with it, and believes the tails of comets to consist of its essential principle. In storm and lightning its power, according to him, seems to rule. Claudian closes this introduction with the representation of a temple-service, in which a magnetic image of Venus held suspended in the air an iron one of Mars; while Lucian speaks of a very ancient statue of Apollo of the Dædalian age, that it was lifted aloft by the priests, and there before his eyes stood suspended in the air, unsupported by the hands of the priests, the atmosphere serving to sustain it in a living embrace."

The conquest of Mars by Hercules, sung by Hesiod, who represents him as a subterranean power with his helm on his feet, characteristic of the earth-magnetism, says the same thing. Pliny also relates of a statue of Hercules standing at Thebes, that it was made of iron. "Precisely in the same manner," says Schweigger (p. 239), "as in China, one form of religious worship is still based on magnetism, was there a religious service of a temple in Egypt connected with magic, as we learn expressly from the Idyls of Claudian." Schweigger shows yet more completely how Hercules was

considered by ancient writers to be magnetism; how he as a double divinity belonged at once to the upper and the lower world; and how this also, according to Servius, was indicated by a garland of silver poplar; how he, as an Idaic Dactyl, scarcely two feet high, was placed next to the fifteen feet high Demeter in the Samothracian Mysteries. He shows how Hercules was related to Mercury; how he as a creature of light, the hyperborean Apollo (north-polarity) might as Musagetes be substituted for him (pp. 245, 246); how the two pillars of Hercules indicate the double character of magnetism, and originally were called the Pillars of Briareus, as the magnetical, gigantic, primeval power, etc.

The Idaic Dactyls and the Batyli belong to the mythic circle of Dioscuri. As these, according to Strabo, stood in relation to iron, while the Batyli were considered to be connected with the magnetic and meteoric stones, these myths had obvious reference to the polarity of magnetism, and speak of right male and left female Dactyls. Pliny calls them iron-coloured stones in the shape of a thumb. According to their number, they must have varied considerably in appearance. According to Helancius, the right dissolved magic spells which the left knit up, as this happens with the electric forces, where positive and negative, male and female, the right and left polarity, exist as opposite powers. "All this tells with great force for the electro-magnetic powers; of which we may say with perfect truth, that the right dissolves charms, which the left knits up, and *vice versâ*. And as the Cabiri were represented as pygmies, and as a name—Dactyls—derived from a finger instead of from the fist, denoted still more diminutive form, the name, therefore, Dactyl, in an electro-magnetic respect, appears descriptive. For it is this which excites so much astonishment in electro-magnetism, that by it a group of a hundred active iron pygmies, infinitely small magnets, are made, in a manner inexplicable to us, to stand near to each other, without interfering with each other; some turning round to the right, and others to the left. Now, as the Curetes, according to the Orphic hymn which describes the power ruling in a storm, are represented symbolically and mythically as sons of the Dactyls, an original dependence of power on magnetism is indicated thereby. But these Curetes again beget fresh Idaic Dactyls, and thus in this myth the

dependence of electrical power on the magnetic, and then again fresh magnetic phenomena from the electric, are expressed" (Schweigger, p. 199).

The Batyli were also employed in soothsaying, for, according to Thales, they were worshipped in the remotest antiquity in Egypt and Samothrace, as magnetic stones containing souls which had fallen from heaven. All the priests of Cybele wore a small Batylus on their bodies; yet probably not exactly a meteoric stone, but a magnet, whose polar action on the meteoric stone might be so much more easily observed, as it is of a similar colour to the magnetic stone. On the meteor-worship of the ancients, Von Dahlberg has brought together much curious matter in a small volume. The worship of rough stones, and the acquaintance of the ancients with the magnet, especially in Egypt, according to Claudian, shows plainly that not a blind superstition, an adoration of the stone, was meant, but a secret truth of nature, from which it is nearly certain that the ancients have been acquainted with her even to her minutest details, and which knowledge was lost sight of again for ages, till in the present time the physical discoveries have thrown light on electro-magnetism, and from that on the ancient mysteries. Nor is the stone-worship to be regarded merely as a figurative mode of speaking by the poets; for this worship was very general, as Claudian the poet of Egyptian origin declares, not only of Egypt, but also says of Eros in his idyls, that he conquered all things, and even awoke a mutual passion in stones. According to Pausanias, Eros was worshipped at Thespia also under the form of a rough stone, whence it is clear that they were thinking of the stones ensouled by Eros; and this so much the more, as the myth of the inexhaustible productive power of Hercules had reference to Thespia, namely, to the fifty daughters of the king. If, then, we venture to take into connection with this, the myth related by Diodorus of Sicily, that Hephæstos gave the club and armour to Hercules, we have reason to think of a metal club, especially as Hesiod speaks of an iron weapon which Hercules laid on his shoulder, while his shield was crossed with blue stripes. The prevalence in meteoric stones of a pyramidal or wedge-formed shape offers a point of resemblance to the knotty club of Hercules. It is also to be seen, from the weakly Harpocrates being always represented

as a child, with the club of Hercules, that these are not merely rude masses but a mystic symbol, analogous to those Batyli which the priests of Cybele wore, and which, according to the supposition of Münter, were probably not seldom magnets instead of meteoric stones, and sometimes might be iron-coloured stones,—*i. e.* Idaic Dactyls. But Hercules is not merely connected with the Idaic Dactyls, which name he bears in common with that stone, and through allocation with the Dioscuri, and other ancient Cabiric beings; but also, in the Cabiric mythic circle, is invoked as a saviour, and was expressly numbered among the greatest gods.

After these more detailed representations of the ancient natural-philosophical doctrine of the elementary powers, and of the original duplicature of the action of electricity and magnetism in particular, other kindred mythological circumstances are more easily intelligible. To these belong the different symbols of the magical fire, and the manifold attributes of the same amongst the other gods,—as the Vestal fire, which burned inextinguishably on the altar, and which Numa, the founder of the Vestal mysteries, introduced into Rome, according to the ancient art of fetching the fire from heaven, as it was taught by the Samothracian and Cabiric mysteries. Schweigger shows incontrovertibly that this fire was an electrical one, and that Vesta belonged to the Samothracian circle (pp. 139—169); that the fire-worship was practised also amongst other gods; as towards Hermes,—the Hermes-fire, the Elmes-fire of the ancient Germans; the lightning of Cybele; the torch of Apollo; the fire of Pan's altar, which originally belonged to him not as the wood-god but as the illuminating Pan with his hair on end; the fire-flame of Pluto's helm; the inextinguishable fire in the temple of Athene on the Acropolis, which, according to Homer, kindled the miraculous fire in the head of Diomed. Wholly of this kind was the fire represented as burning on the hats of the Dioscuri, &c., as well as the fire on the helm of Pallas, on the Gorgon head, on the staff of Mercury, etc.

Now, if the electrical fire was preserved so sacred in the mysteries, it may next be inquired to what purpose it was thus kept.

If the immediate object were a religious one, the worship of the divinity, then so strict an exclusion of the uninitiated

would not have been necessary: but taking natural philosophy as its object, and the practical use of the same, we have the ground of this strictly mysterious worship; and Schweigger treats it, I think, with insufficient depth. If we observe the completely philosophical connection of the symbols of electricity and magnetism in those mysteries, can we doubt that the ancients had more than a physical object, or that a practically medicinal use was attached to them? If the ancients were well acquainted with the physical laws and operations of these forces, is it likely that their curative nature was unknown to them? Everywhere, in all the temples, the priestly service was pre-eminently a therapeutic one; a secret service of healing the sick, and of soothsaying, which we have already shown to exist among all people. May not electricity and magnetism, together with magnetic manipulation, have been employed as divine and miraculous means? We can the less doubt of such a use of the electro-magnetic power, when we notice the universality of those symbols in the temples of all countries,—in the Vestal, the Eleusinian, the Samothracian, and Egyptian mysteries; and when we cast a glance on many other circumstances in connection with them which have become known.

The mysteries may have been practised, and preserved from the knowledge of the people in their transmission downwards as great natural truths, especially in later and historical times, without, perhaps, their foundation being clearly understood. For if a refusal of free experiment be persisted in, from a dogged adhesion to antiquity, and a repetition of the same thing on all sides, no distinct insight into the causality of the laws of nature can exist. A mechanical adherence to ancient practices may, therefore, have been wholly the fact, without any clear consciousness of the meaning of those practices; as, for instance, is the case in the repetition of astronomical maxims at the present day amongst the Indian Brahmins, and in so many ceremonies of the church.

But the practice was established, and the formula transmitted to the initiated. Thus we see that the miraculous fire so carefully concealed from the uninitiated was most assiduously maintained in the Vestal and Cabiric mysteries; and they who did not know how to manage it ac-

cording to its nature were destroyed by it, and were punished by the gods. Pliny relates (Histor. nat. xxviii. 2) that Tullus Hostilius had sought from the books of Numa, "Jovem devocare a cœlo;" but, as he did not correctly follow the rules of Numa, he was struck by the lightning. Plutarch writes in the life of Camillus that Numa, the founder of the Vestal mysteries, in intercourse with the Muse, had given over to the Vestal virgins the sacred fire, to be guarded as the quickening and ensouling principle in the Samothracian sanctuary, and adds, that "those who profess to be better informed on this subject than others, speak of two not very large casks,—one open and empty, the other full and sealed up." The electrical fire thus concealed might by a mechanical contrivance be quickly kindled in the electrical apparatus without a visible bearing of it to the altar; and thus provided with a point, fire received upon a ball, or in a sieve of brass, is easily to be understood.

The iron Samothracian wings, which we have mentioned from Lucretius, and which "he saw leap," were undoubtedly preserved in the temple not without an object. The secret, evil-averting power which was ascribed to them, is an evidence that their healing quality was already known. The priest of Jupiter also wore, according to Creech's interpretation of that passage in Lucretius, similar iron wings on his body, apparently in order to strengthen his magical influence, as the magnetisers now by the bearing of a magnet assert that they strengthen their effect on the patient. At all events, incubation was practised in those temples where the magnetical rings were found. But those wings constituted regular chains of magnets, strengthening and conducting the power to each other, and were a kind of magnetic battery, as Lucretius says in those remarkable verses (B. 1041—46):—

"How much may not be said of things like these?
But to what end? Thou need'st no farther go,
And me it fits not to engage in them.
Yet will I here in little much compress.
And thus what here is hollow, there fill out,
That so the exchange endurance give and strength.
Some things there may, as 'twere with rings and hooks,
If worn together, be as chains regarded;
As here it seems the fact with stone and iron."

It has already been observed, that the old natural historians, who appear to have been initiated into the temple mysteries, carefully passed over the philosophical secrets; yes, were compelled to be silent on what, for instance, was unanimously testified by the Samothracian mysteries. In the temple of Demeter and Persephone at Athens, in the front of which was the statue of the sower of seed, Triptolemus, the mysteries were celebrated, which, in later times, Pausanias did not dare to unveil, and who was warned by a dream not to do it (Attic. i. 14). People would, therefore, have pressed too close upon the sanctuary of the priests had they allowed the real nature of the magnet and the wonderful action of the iron to become known. At the same time it was not forbidden to make known everything; some things were explained to the uninitiated; but it came to pass that in the course of time many facts made their way to the public. For instance, the uninitiated were made acquainted with amber, and with its property when rubbed; and those iron wings were not withdrawn from the eyes of all. If some things thus lay open, and if the public arrived at the knowledge of the aims and effects of the mysterious mythic circles in another manner; if similar physical science was gained by their own experience, in such a combination things before unknown assumed a high importance, and the mysteries thus more and more were made clear to the general eye. Now this was the fact with the Samothracian wings, which already in the time of Pliny were worn by the Lacedemonians, who adhered fast and perseveringly to the Samothracian traditions, and were in a high degree worshippers of the Dioscuri; so that Callimachus even called the Dioscuri, Lacedemonian stones. It is very remarkable, too, that in Pliny's time the betrothal ring at Rome must be one of iron; as earlier in Athens, the newly married, under the name of Anakes, brought offerings to the Dioscuri, in symbol of the reconcilement of opposing forces, and with reference to the hope of offspring.

Now, as Lucretius expressly, in the passages quoted, speaks of hooks and rings hanging together,—that is, of chains, but afterwards of Samothracian articles made of iron for magnetic purposes, to which, for instance, the experiment with the iron-filings belongs, the acquaintance of the Romans with

physical science is very clear; and Schweigger traces the electro-magnetism into everything, rendering only still more apparent their medical knowledge.

Plato compares, in Ione, the penetrating power of poetry with the marvellous strength of the Samothracian rings; thus showing their effect even on the mind as an auxiliary influence in the vaticinations in the temples. That the magnet played a great part in the temples is certain. I have already spoken of that magnetic stone in the form of Venus, which, by a living embrace, held fast a statue of Mars, which was raised into the air. Pausanias also speaks of a splendid seat or throne of iron, which stood near the consecrated sacrificial hearth of Apollo at Delphi. Plutarch, on Isis and Osiris, has a remarkable passage wherein it is said,—according to the books which are ascribed to Hermes, —the power which affects the circulation of the sun is called Horus; and by the Grecians Apollo; and soon afterwards, that the Egyptians often call Isis by the name of Athene; and, indeed, with an expression which means, "I came through myself,"—which clearly denotes an original power of acting. Typhon also is called Seth, and Smy, and Beban,—which expressions indicate binding and opposing power. The magnet they call the bone of Horus, iron that of Typhon, as Manetho says: "for like as iron drawn by a stone often follows it, but often also is turned and driven away in the opposite direction, so also is the wholesome, good, and regular motion of the world: it turns round and recedes, softens and appeases that rough Typhonic power, till it returns into itself, and sinks down in dissatisfaction."

In this place a mystic language is used, which contains more than a simple physical action. There is in it concealed the fundamental idea of a universal and magnificent activity of magnetism, even in a cosmic aspect. The newer philosophy speaks not merely of an earth magnetism; it has discovered that a universal cosmic magnetism, a force active in the amber, pervades the universe.

"Such matters gladly we proclaim,
How amber, first in childish wonder rubbed,
Teaches us next to turn magnetic globes,
Till joyfully we view the course of stars,
And the wild shapes of comets double-tailed."

The experiences of animal magnetism afford evidence that the cosmic powers may be momentarily employed; not merely those of the sun and moon, whether quickening or destroying, but also the power of stars may be so mightily concentrated, that healing and destruction may become dependent upon it. As the god of physical light, Apollo was also pre-eminently the seer with the spiritual eye, the soothsayer and source of oracles; and in the Zendavesta it is said "that fire gives knowledge of the future, science, and amiable speech." Apollo is also the avenger, armed with bow and arrows (Il. i. 42, etc.) He is called the sender of fatal missiles as well as the creative, life-exciting god, and the god who at once cripples the strength of men, as I have repeatedly found confirmed to the letter in the influence of the sun on magnetic experiments: in that antithesis, probably, more is contained than is meant in mythologic language by the beneficent influence of the spring sun, and the pestilence-bringing summer heat. It is that universe-pervading magnetic power which in little produces health and disease through alternating action, and in the great unites the stars into one general causation of life and death.

We find, too, traces of the use of the magnet amongst the ancient Egyptians. Pliny relates that the temple of Arsinoe was to have been vaulted with magnetic stone, in order to receive a hovering statue of Arsinoe made of iron, according to the arrangement of Ptolemaus Philadelphus, but who, as well as the architect, died before the completion of the temple. According to Cedrenus and Augustine there were anciently temples so constructed. Cedrenus, indeed, says that an ancient image in the Serapium at Alexandria was suspended by magnetic force. Augustine, who, however, names no particular temple, expresses himself as if the question was of a soaring in the air,—a legend, says Schweigger, which the Mahometans also relate of their prophet's coffin. It is not impossible, however, what Cassiodorus says, that in a temple of Diana hung an iron Cupid without being held by any band. It might be directly borne up by a magnet fixed in the roof. Such were cases already referred to where great weights were suspended by magnets.

In connection with these passages deserves to be mentioned what is related by Plutarch of the festivals which were celebrated every nine years by the so-called Daphephorians in honour of Horus and Apollo at Thebes, where an iron ball was carried about, from which several smaller ones were suspended. Also in Thebes, in Bœotia, there was, according to Pausanias, an altar consisting of a stone, which was brought there by Hercules in his sleep. This was dedicated to Apollo, and was sought as favourable to the foretelling of future events. It has already been said that the first name of the magnet was the Herculean stone; and the Batilene, the meteoric and soothsaying stone of the priests of Cybele, we have spoken of; and in China the magnet yet belongs to the religious sanctities, and receives divine honours. "An astonishing number of offerings," says the missionary Gutzlaff, "are brought to the magnet: a piece of red cloth is thrown over it, incense is kindled before it, and gold paper in the form of a Chinese ship is burnt."

It is not irrelevant in this place to refer to what is said in one of Wolfart's Year-books on the magnetism of life (book ii. part 1), and of the vision of a clairvoyant, in which those iron Samothracian rings were described by an individual who certainly had before known nothing of them. "In respect to the seeress, says the relater, I observe, that this vision has by no means arisen through outward communication,—through hearing or reading. Though the patient has a good natural understanding, she could scarcely, from her former education and knowledge of life, have had opportunity to hear or see anything on these subjects."

Dr. Martius asked the seeress, whether magnetism was practised in the most ancient times before the birth of Christ, and that by the Egyptians? After a short pause she gave me the following reply, which she repeated for several days,— "In a great sandy plain, where there is a very pure and healthy air, at some distance from a great city, I see a temple in which physicians or priests heal the sick. They are Egyptians." She then described the temple, the style of building, the eastern aspect, its internal rooms and halls. At first, she seemed to enter a splendid hall, on the ceiling of which were painted the half-moon and many stars. Then

a door conducted her to a great saloon, which was of an oval shape, like the building. Round the hall, at about a foot from the walls, stood eighteen beds or couches for the sick, or rather for the sleeping ones whom she saw on them. The mattresses on which they lay, and the pillows, were stuffed with herbs. Between each two beds, which were placed about three feet from each other, and in such a manner that two and two stood together, at such a distance that a person could go round the beds, there were placed, where the heads of the sleepers came together, according to the shape of the room, nine shining, polished, hollow iron pillars of about three inches in diameter and three feet high. These pillars were fixed firmly on triangular pedestals, which were filled with herbs; but the pillars were filled with quicksilver, and closed at the top with a round knob. (Another magnetic seeress of Bendo Bendsen, in Kieser's Archives, states quicksilver to be the most powerful auxiliary support of magnetic power.) These pillars were united to each other by chains of polished iron, so formed as to project, and the links were of a triangular form, for isolating or uniting, according as might be required. The space included within these pillars was thus fenced out by them. A chain, the links of which were of the form just described, only stronger, was then drawn round the whole space formed by the pillars. At this chain now sate the sick on each side, with the pillars at their backs, holding the chain with one hand, and in the other, by a short handle, a ball, on the top of which was a cross. This was also three inches in diameter, was hollow and filled with herbs. Besides this the physicians had hollow tubes of polished iron, also filled with herbs, with which they touched the affected part of the sufferers. The Egyptian statues of the servants of the temple have almost always rich staves in their hands. With balls only they touched the forehead of the sick, and especially of the sleepers. Thus they did not apply the positive electric points to the brain, exciting it, but the ball's negative electricity,—soothing or drawing from it. The sick who suffered from cramps, and lay in the beds in the hall, had these attacks removed especially by touching and rubbing; as we find, by our own experience, is most effectual.

The invalids thus sitting along the chain, the priests so proceeded from each end of it, that, holding the right or left hand of each person one after the other, they thus met in the middle. With the ball they touched the chain, and shook it to increase and to speed on the magnetic effect. She saw the sleepers wrapped only in white linen dresses, and holding in their hand such balls. She saw the priests in white dresses with a girdle. She saw this treatment as a religious transaction, conducted only in the evenings, and with sleepers, and principally in the moonlight. The priests were unmarried, and chose the eldest amongst them as their chief or king, who was adorned with a crown, and provided with a staff and ball, whence, said she, probably originated the sceptre of the present day.

Two other halls adjoined the one described, in which the sick were more particularly treated. Two entrances conducted to these halls.

The number nine of the pillars had a particular signification, and had particular reference to a constellation. The clairvoyant made the excellent remark concerning this vision, that such an establishment organised by government at the national cost, for magnetic treatment on a large scale, would be a great public advantage, in which we fully agree. Thousands thereby would be saved, and the most severe ailments would often be wholly cured with the greatest ease by magnetism. She also added the remark, that in the Vatican there are many documents upon the early practice of magnetism which might probably be found on search.

Schweigger has amply shown that the old poets have especially wrapped the knowledge of the magnet and the amber in fable, and that the knowledge of the magnet and of electricity was far more extended than is generally supposed. But we find other insulated historical facts of magic action indicated in mythology which obviously accord with animal magnetism. Exactly in proportion as we learn clearly to understand the mythic language of nature through newer discoveries, and, as it were, to imitate the phenomena there described, do we perceive the truth of the sentiment that natural appearances were the foundation of myths: "Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat"—Cicero.

A brief glance into mythology is sufficient to show that both the greater and the lesser gods constituted, as it were, a magic circle, and that either physical phenomena in general, or magical phenomena and effects in particular, are everywhere developed. I refer all who wish fundamentally and fully to see more on this subject, to the "Etymologic-symbolic and Mythological Real-Dictionary, by F. Nork," 1843; and "Mythological Enquiries and Collections, by Wolfgang Menzel," Stuttgart, 1842, vol. i."

In these the rainbow and the bee are particularly selected to serve as proofs that the objects of nature are comprehended in the reflex of the symbolic and mythologic. Bart, in his Cabiri in Germany, has handled in a masterly manner the comparison of the northern and southern myths with a solution of the Samothracian mysteries of nature; and still more so has Jacob Grimm, in his "German Mythology," published at Göttingen, 1835, and in "The North-German People: their Mythology based originally on natural appearances."

As the universal powers of nature determine all the phenomena of life, they therefore determine the health and sickness, the life and death of men. The more general natural symbols applied to the greater gods; and therefore everywhere indicate conditions of the healing or the destruction of men. We have already seen the general symbols of Jupiter and Hera, of Vulcan and Neptune, of Mars and Apollo, etc. The Greek legends have described in the combats of the Titans the subjection of the wild elementary powers of nature; in the battle of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs the Neptunic and Plutonic powers of nature. Just so, too, is it only the combat of the elements which Homer sung. (See Nork's Real-Dictionary, articles Agamemnon, Achilles, etc.) The ideas of primeval being, of night, of chaos, and of time, are expressed in correspondent symbols, as the production of all things is represented through the beneficent formation and mutation of light—Eros and mother Earth—Rhea.

Only beneficent light creates life, therefore Eros is the creative love—protogenos. But life shapes the many-sided phenomena, therefore Eros is called protogenos in the hymn of Orpheus to Rhea, and πολυμόρφον, and in so far he appears to have a synonymous meaning with the

enigmatical Proteus, the assumer of many forms, the keeper of the keys of the sea, as he was styled, and of heaven and earth also. Thence is derived the representation of Eros winged like a bird, proceeding from the egg of the world, which Kronos, Time, produced from night,—empty space, reminding us of the comparison of the earth and the heavens to the two halves of an egg, which is to be found amongst nearly all people, and especially amongst the Indians. In India the creative god, Brahma, proceeds from an egg, as the sun, the principle of light. "The idea of the eternal, primeval, and universe-pervading love, was, by degrees, contracted by the sensual Greeks. The God of love, more and more divested of his high dignity as the first-born amongst the gods, sunk down to the genius of sexual passion; but what the Greeks deprived him of in dignity, they richly restored to him in grace and amenity" (W. Menzel.)

Apollo, the god of light and day, had the double universal attributes of producing, and also, through too great heat, of destroying. As the spring sun, diffusing fertility, he is the guardian of herds; "feeds even the herds of Admetus and of Laomedon; rears excellent mares;" heals wounds which the death of physical organizations occasions by new births, and is thence styled the healer, παῖαν, the averter of evil, ἀλεξίκακος. As the friend of harmony in nature, he built the walls of Troy, and produced, surrounded by the Muses,—the nine months, the original or moon-year consisting of nine or ten months,—the harmony of the spheres, playing on the seven-stringed planetary lyre. Thence he was also called the god of song, and of music on stringed instruments; and whom Homer represents as playing to the gods during their banquets (Il. vii. 602), for they no longer understood the peculiar signification of his musical character. As the god of light, he was also the seer, the discoverer with the spiritual eye, the soothsayer, and utterer of oracles" (Nork.)

Ottfried Müller has already represented the Apollo-idea as a dualistic one, in so far that in his person two opposite sides meet, which present themselves wholly as the two sides of nature, the creative and the dissolving. Apollo afterwards received, through the constructive genius of the

Greeks, such a metamorphosis, that the merely natural side withdrawing, he came forth the most beautiful of all the gods of Greece in form, the divine representative of order and law, art and science. Nork sketches further the original double character of Apollo, according to his chief qualities as quickener and destroyer, which divides itself into as many portions as there are months; for the months assume in each sign of the zodiac a new character, which is constantly represented by a particular feature of cultivation. In Caria, a country of sheep, he was, for instance, an augmenter of flocks, and since the goat and the ram have a zodiacal sign in common, Apollo at this season of the year overcomes the goat-shaped Marsyas (the Dionysian Satyr), and appropriates to himself his skin, while Bacchus and he became one being, the new representative of the equinoctial year, and expeller of the old. As the god of divination, he is the healing physician, ἐπικούριος,—the ἰατρόμαντις, and therefore in times of pestilence they sent to Delphi (Pausan. viii. 41.) He proclaimed the will of Zeus, and is called the prophet of the father Zeus at Dodona. He also taught those arts to Hermes; on that account he is the father of the divine physician, Asclepios. Divination was practised at various places, as we have seen, by the priestess Pythia sitting on the tripod, and inspired by the ascending vapour; or by the rustling of trees, as at Delos; or by inspiring fountains, as at Klaros, etc.

Æsculapius also bears, in common with his father Apollo, the title of physician, healer. Others give Mercury as the father of Æsculapius (Cicero de nat. deor. c. 22.)

Of just as much importance to us is the god Mercury, —Hermes. He is a son of Jupiter and the nymph Maia; of heaven and earth, originally, he belongs to the blessing-diffusing gods, as an ancient Pelasgic Arcadian divinity, but merged early in the Hellenic mythology into the nature of the herald, and in this character receded more and more from his former rank. Born early in the morning, he played at noon on the guitar, and in the evening stole the cattle of the far-shooting Apollo. He bound tamarisks and boughs of myrtle-like plants to the tails and the feet of the

cattle in order to obliterate all traces of their steps (Homer. hymn. Merc. lxxv. v. 17, etc.) According to Homer, it was in the sacred herds of the gods that he pastured; according to Ovid and Apollodorus, the herds appertained to Apollo. Besides this, according to Lucian, Hermes stole the trident from Poseidon, the sword from Ares, the bow and arrow from Apollo, the girdle from Aphrodite, the sceptre from Zeus, and the tongs from Pluto. This cunning and address in the most endless varieties caused him to be styled the many-placed, πολίτροπος; the crafty, δόλιος, the deceiver; the god and captain of thieves. When Hermes, after many stratagems and much resistance, was compelled to return the cattle to Apollo, he then herded them for him, invented the syrinx, and presented it to Apollo. In return for this, Apollo gave him the golden staff, which he had himself received as a herdsman, and with which the art of public speaking and of vaticination is conferred.

Now what did this staff really indicate? As the other attributes of Hermes are connected with this fact, we will endeavour to present the true answer.

On account of his address and eloquence, Hermes was made herald and proclaimer of the gods, Ἑρμῆς, λόγως, λόγου προφητής. The heralds were public orators in embassies, in commissions, and in assemblies of the people (Il. i. 333 ff.) Hermes was, therefore, the messenger of gods and men. He is the one endowed with a penetrating spirit; and the inventor of various things, as the lyre, letters, numbers, astronomy, the sacrifice, measures and weights, gymnastics, etc. He imparts a portion of endowments to men, as he taught Ulysses to resist the sorceries of Circe; and all such are under his protection. To Pandora he gave, at the command of Zeus, the gifts of lies and of subtle thought. On account of these qualities he was called the looker into the night, κλυτόβουλος. As herald he carried to men the commands and the counsels of the gods, and was to them the health-bringing genius. As the speaker in council, and the god of eloquence, the tongues of rein-deer were offered to him; and with this circumstance probably is connected the Greek adage—Ἑρμῆς ἐπεισῆλθη, Hermes has interest, that is, when any one in company began to speak

earnestly. He was called also the giver of good-humour χαριδώτης, which also may mean benefactor and diffuser of blessings (Hom. hymn. xxiv. 12.)

Already, in the qualities we have passed in review, we perceive in Hercules the all-transpiercing electrical power, in Hermes the intellectual, and as the former has more body, the latter has the winged spirit. In the history of Hermes, also, the whole of the peculiar phenomena of magnetic somnambulism are personified, which will become more striking in what follows.

As herald of the gods, and especially of Zeus, Hermes is sent out, in order to arrange all sorts of magnetical things, ἄγγελος, τρόχις τοῦ διώς. Thus he conducts Priam to Achilles, in order to solicit the body of Hector, so that no one perceived him (Il. xxiv. 336.) He bound Ixion on the wheel; welded the chains of Prometheus on Caucasus, a deed ascribed by others to Hephæstos; carried off Chione; sold Heracles; was called upon by Zeus to steal Io, who had been changed into a cow which was guarded by Argos; he lulled the hundred-eyed Argos into sleep with the newly-invented flute. In combat with the giants, armed with the helmet of Ais, which rendered him invisible, he killed Hippolytus.

As herald, he was also the charioteer and seneschal of the gods, and the director of dreams as messengers to men, ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων; he who gives to-me sleep and takes it, and bears the staff, wherewith he closes the eyes of mortals, as he will, and again awakes the slumberer (Iliad. xxiv. 345, 445.) In this character he is called the sender of dreams, ὀνειροπομπός; the giver of sleep, ὕπνου προστάτης; a genius who scatters a horn-ful of dreams, and the shapes of things. "Men, therefore, before retiring to rest, poured out to him drink-offerings (Odyss. vii. 138; Plut. Symp. vii. 9), and the libation itself, by which we sought to procure good dreams from God, was called Hermes" (Philostrat. Her. x. 8.) On account of all these properties, Hermes is the associate of those heroes who go on dangerous adventures under the protection of Zeus. Thus he conducted Priam into the Hellenic camp (Il. xxiv. 461); Perseus, when he went to fetch the head of Gorgon (Apollod. ii. 4, 2); Heracles in the kingdom of Ais (Odyss. ii. 625). As the messenger of Zeus, he conducted the shades of the dead to

the nether world, but himself returned to Olympus. He conducted also Persephone back from the nether world, and on that account was termed significantly the conductor of souls, *ψυχοπομπός*, *ψυχαγώγος*, *ταμίας τῶν ψυχῶν*.

In connection with these Hermes was also the establisher of peace, the god of roads, of traffic, and of travellers. Figures of him were found on the doors of houses and temples, on tombs, and in the streets in great numbers, and thence *στροφαίος*, the door-keeper, the Latin index, the German touch-stone (Hermes had turned the treacherous Battus into a black stone.) The Hermes-stones on the roads were, for the most part, without hands or feet.

Trade and commerce bring gain, and, therefore, Hermes is the conferrer of gain and affluence, *πλουτοδότης*. An unexpected piece of good fortune, or a find, was *ἑρμαίον*, and hence he was also the god of play. As the god-herdsman and the protector of herds, the defender of rural cattle, of horses, and laborious mules, he comes into comparison with Pan and the nymphs.

From the shade-conducting Hermes, the later mythologists made an earthly and a subterranean one, and Cicero mentions even five gods of that name. But these are obviously only the physical, electro-magnetical powers of nature, which are active in, under, and above the earth. Hermes is the conductor even through the kingdom of Ais, arising from his visionary nature, as the conductor of dreams, in which character he comes into connection with the penetrating and wisdom-giving goddess (*ὀφθαλμίτις*), Minerva,—as when he is sent with her in order to absolve the Danaides from the guilt of the murder of their husbands (Soph. Phil. 133.) The winged shoes, the pocket, and the helmet, make his different qualities clear, yet are in part a later addition, for Homer represents him in a more agreeable and somewhat younger form, a blooming stripling, whose cheek was embrowned in the sweetest charm of youth (Il. xxiv. 347.) The light, turned-up hat, afterwards furnished with wings, or instead of it wings in the locks of the god, is the attribute of the messenger of the gods; so also, the winged sandals, "beautiful, ambrosial, and golden, which bore him away over the sea into the infinite lands, as borne on a breathing wind" (Il. xxiv. 340.) Many of the

myths having reference to physical powers, as those of Helios, Apollo, Hercules, Pan, etc., and are now become comprehensible; for example, the planet next the sun is called Mercury.

As the god of eloquence, Hermes is represented with a chlamys and his right arm elevated; as the god of trade, with a purse; as the augmenter of flocks, with a ram; and as the herald of sacrifice, with the sacrificial cup; as the inventor of the lyre, with the tortoise. Here we have given the most ancient symbols of the Samothracian mysteries. But what of that golden staff which was finally given him?

If the complete metamorphoses of somnambulic phenomena were not deducible from the preceding history of Hermes, there yet remains, from what it shows, no doubt whatever of the peculiarities attributed to the staff.

Magic-staff, wonder-staff, winged-staff, the serpent-staff, —all these various names display its signification; but the ancients themselves deliver the most definite statement concerning it. In the fifth book of the Odyssey, Jupiter, in the council of the gods, commands his daughter Minerva to conduct Telemachus with wisdom; and to his son he says:—

"Hermes, who art of my ordinances ever the bearer, etc.
Him promptly obeyed the active destroyer of Argus, * *
Forth sped he, and under his feet he bound his ambrosial sandals,
Then taking his staff, with which he the eyelids of mortals
Closes at will, and the sleeper, at will, re-awakens."

Ῥάβδος originally means a rod, stick, or staff; by the staff of Hermes was understood pre-eminently the magic-staff, by which men were thrown into sleep, or again awakened (Il. xxiv. 343; Odyss. v. 47; Hymn. Merc. ccx. 526.) The magic-staff of Circe (Odyssey, x. 238; xiii. 429.) In the Odyssey, again, it is called the magic-staff (Odyss. xii. 251.) I do not know how the magnetic staff which Mesmer, Wolfart, and their disciples, used in magnetising, could be more clearly described; but these generally had an iron or steel staff, as the so-called conductor, in order, in certain cases, to strengthen and modify the magnetic power, to throw people into sleep or to awaken them. In ancient times, it appears to have been originally a wooden staff, but certainly not exclusively, for it is also called the golden, or at least the gilt staff. Even so the experienced magnetiser

uses, in different conditions of the sick, different staves; and of the wooden ones, the best, according to the observations of clairvoyants, are of hazel, laurel, or olive. He also uses zinc or glass staves.

The staff in ancient times had various significations. At one time it is the herdsman's staff, then the herald's, such as the heralds of the present time carry; then it became the symbol of power—the *σκήπτρον*, sceptre of the ruler, and the magic staff of the necromancer; and we yet find it amongst the Egyptian officers of the temple. Whence Hermes derived his staff is not stated; nor is there any mention in Homer of his serpent staff, which seemed to be the peculiar attribute of Æsculapius. It is styled in the Homeric hymns, "the splendid, three-leaved, infallible staff, which Hermes received from Apollo" (v. 559). According to Apollodorus, it is the golden staff which Apollo himself received as the reward of his services as a herdsman. That the magic staff was also of metal is shown by a passage in Lucian (Dial. D. 7, 5). Hermes received this staff, which other gods also bore—as Hades, Isis, Athene, and Circe—a staff of wonderful power, with which he cited souls, and conducted shades into Hades, from Hephæstos. In Virgil it is said:—

"The staff which pale shadows from Orcus
Calls up, or down into sorrowful Tartarus sends them,
Sleep gives and awakens the sleeper, and seals up the eyes of the dying."
Virgil, Æn. iv. 242.

The herald's staff was of olive-wood, adorned with golden bosses or wholly gilt, and was called, in the hands of Hermes or Athene, on that account, the golden. This staff, *κηρύκειον*, the Caduceus, when it was to express a peaceful intention, was wound round with leaves and white ribbons (*στέμματα*), and was then the wand of peace. Later times converted these, *στέμμασιν*, into snakes, which encircle the staff in friendly union, and hissed at each other above. The pair of wings on the staff is also a later addition, and symbolises the messenger. Hermes bearing such a staff was the herald of concord. There never have been wanting various meanings attached to these snakes. They are, namely, the symbols of wisdom, of healing, of

life, and of regeneration. Schweigger combines the snake-encircled Hermes-staff with the mythic circle of the Dioscuri, and shows, from ancient gems, an accurate representation of one of the most beautiful electro-magnetic phenomena of modern times; namely, the whirling of snakes of iron wire rapidly round the magnet, in a circle of revolving and illuminating sparks. The Hermes-staff is thus winged with small glittering flashes of lightning; and the wings of lightning are, therefore, according to nature, connected with it. But that whilst we are thinking of the Hermes-staff we are reminded of the Herculean force, the magnetic, is justified by the fact that the Hermes-staff was anciently represented in connection with the club of Hercules.

These combinations may have their reality; but still more just in every sense is the comparison of the sleep-bringing magic wand of Hermes with our magnetic staff, with which we are in a condition fully to imitate the ancient descriptions of the magical appearances of the Grecian gods.

Not the less remarkable, and, therefore, perfectly relevant to our subject, is the original German meaning of the magic wand; concerning which Grimm, in his German Mythology, p. 545, says:—"An ancient glossary derives the name from the Wishing-rod, according to the notion of the magic power of the rod of Mercury. But the Caduceus was neither derived from wishes nor wishing. The winged rod—*virga volatilis*—was early represented as a magic rod; it is the wand through the possession of which a man becomes the master of all healing. The gift of this healing proceeds from the all-powerful Woutan." He says, amongst other things in his introduction to prove the identity of the northern and German mythologies,—"The name of Wish stands in connection with Wishing-woman. Wishing-women were employed precisely as Swan-maidens; and Woutan appeared in the Wishing-cap."

In the Samothracian mysteries all the so-called greater gods stood in alliance with each other. Not only those already mentioned, but Athene, Cybele, Demeter, Ceres, Proserpine, and Pan; and in the sense of the original duality were also Hephæstos with the father of the Cabiri, and Poseidon with Hercules and Jupiter, united under the name of the greater gods. Thus we have seen that these

symbolical divinities were originally but representations of natural appearances. Diodorus of Sicily relates that the Samothracian mysteries were founded in the dark times prior to history, and were derived from an antecedent world destroyed by the great flood; but that they were remodelled by Jupiter, and first made known to his son Jasion, whom he had by Electra, in order to confer divine dignity upon him.

Corybas, the son of Jasion by the mother of the gods, from whom the Corybantes received their name, taught the mysteries of the mother of the gods to Phrygia, on which occasion the lute given by Hermes was taken thither. Through the whole series of images there was a leading type, which artistic imagination adorned with new combinations, or gave prominence to individual characteristics, or added historical events to them. I will here only refer to such of these matters as have reference to magic. In general, two Dioscuri indicate the primeval principles of electro-magnetism; but there frequently comes a triad, and sometimes a quadruple representation—the male, the female, the right, the left, the positive and the negative. The triad, Helios or Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, represent the three points of the electrical fire, the trident of Neptune. As for the upper world two male, so for the nether world two female Cabiric beings, Demeter and Persephone, were found, as may be frequently seen in the representation of the mysteries. Demeter was called the Cabiric Saviour, as we have seen Hercules in the same character. Herodotus also says that Isis means the same as the Greek Demeter (while Plutarch frequently uses the term Isis-Athena); and that not merely at Sais, but in all places in Egypt, thousands of lamps burnt to indicate that sole, divine, and universally active fire. Homer also frequently represents his Athena as Isis-Athena—as the ruler of the sea; and that, indeed, in two poems: now with terrific storms and swollen waves pursuing criminals; now, again, stopping the course of the winds, and commanding all around her to lay itself to rest. Not seldom in Homer is Athena mentioned as of the nature of health-bringing fire, and as the fire-ball falling from heaven, as in the case of the victory-announcing star on the head of Diomed. He speaks of an unwearied,

self-supporting, immortal and ethereal fire. Like Athene, Isis also was regarded as ruler of the sea, as is represented on very ancient coins. On one of the Maffei gems, Athene holds a rudder in the right hand; and near the rudder the rest-giving staff of Hermes, which is held between poppies; which poppies, like the cornucopia, have reference to the Kabiric Demeter. Here the electro-magnetic forces, as well as the magnetic sleep, are pointed out with sufficient distinctness. The miraculous helmet of Pluto is, moreover, sometimes worn significantly by Athene—the helmet which belongs to the nine divinities, armed with lightning, "with which she passes through the heavens large enough to cover the foot soldiers from a hundred towns;" thus showing herself a superhuman, gigantic being, and as a heavenly apparition, speedily withdrawing herself again from sight. Minerva is by her nature essentially prophetic. Her mother, Metis—Wisdom—a daughter of Oceanos and Tethys, was the first wife of Zeus. After Metis had withdrawn herself from Zeus by passing through a variety of forms, she announced to him that she should give birth to a son and daughter who would assume the sovereignty. Upon this he swallowed her, as she was pregnant with Athene, and thus produced her himself (Apollod. i. 3, 6; Hesiod. Theog. 886). According to Hesiod, Zeus swallowed Metis, by the advice of Uranos and Gæa, who communicated to him the important announcement of the future; and hidden in the interior of Zeus she prophesied to him good and bad.

Homer mentions no mother. According to him, Minerva sprang at once from the head of Zeus, and thence was called τριτογήνεια, the chief-born; which word is, however, variously explained, as for instance, that it means born on the third of the month. According to Democritus, because she conferred three cardinal virtues,—profound counsel, sound judgment, and justice in action. According to others, she is called a daughter of Hephæstos; and accordingly the people's festivals, Χαλκεῖα, and Ἀθηναῖα, and Πάνδημος, were held unitedly at Athens in honour of Minerva and Hephæstos, as the divinities who presided over the arts. From the same cause, Athena comes much into connection with Prometheus, as she who counselled him to steal the fire from heaven.

According to Orphic hymns, Athene is the personified productive principle, and as such is synonymous with Phanes. Pre-eminently is Athene as the daughter of the omnipotent Zeus and Metis, or Wisdom, that being amongst the Olympic divinities in whom power and intelligence were united; on which account she was denominated the protector of states, the goddess of wisdom and the arts,—especially the useful arts. At the same time she is the protecting goddess of war, under the name of Pallas; but she does not delight in the slaughter of men, like Ares, but rather held back men from mutual carnage, where wisdom counselled it. We find her in Homer bearing no weapons but such as she borrowed from Zeus (Il. v. 735). In Athens she was the general protecting power, the helper, Σωτέρια, and goddess of healing, Υγιεία παιωνία, to whom the serpent, as the regenerating strength, was sacred. It is remarkable that Athene was also amongst the Etruscans one of the divinities of lightning. Thus she stands on a coin of Severus waiting upon Vulcan, who is forging thunderbolts for her; and the owl of Minerva on coins is represented as the bearer of lightnings. Thus she is made to say in Æsculus that she alone of all the gods knows where the lightnings lie concealed. Tzetzes of Lycophron gives the legend that Athene had been a queen, called Belanica, a daughter of Brontes, who had been married to Hephæstos, and was the mother of Erichthonius.

Besides the well-known names which she received from the various places where she was worshipped, she was called the singer—Ἀηδών, the patriotic, the counseller, the helpful, the stiller of the wind. According to a Spartan popular legend, her worship was brought out of Colchis by the Dioscuri (Pausan. iii. 24-5). She had in Sparta a fine temple adorned with brass, and a brazen statue. As Pallas, she was called the warrior maid—Πάλαξ; Πανία, who gives health and plenty; Σκίρας, Sciras, after the prophet of Dodona; and thence the feasts, the Scirophoria, in which a white canopy was carried down from the palace to the temple of Athene Sciras by the priestess. She was called σκίρον, after the Telchines, who came out of Cyprus and Beotia, and built a sanctuary to the goddess on the mountain Teremessos; and she had also the cogno-

men of the slayer of giants and the Gorgon. The olive-branch, the serpent, the owl, and the cock, were sacred to her.

It has always been observed that the magnetic meteoric stone, the Batylus, was worn as a divining stone by the priests of Cybele. Livy relates that a meteoric stone was brought with great solemnity from Pessinus to Rome, as a symbol of the mother of the gods, and that it was received by the Vestals, and was borne from hand to hand to the Temple of Victory. He states that the touching of it cleared the dubious character of a Vestal, and that she then was esteemed as more sacred than ever. From this we perceive the connection of the service of the Vestals with the Samothracian mysteries, as well as the secret use of the power of the magnet in the temples. Traditions on this head are, it is true, so rare, owing to the secresy used, and to the strictness of the prohibition of publication, as well as to the withdrawal of the Palladii, as images of the the gods held sacred, from all physical inquiry. Thence it happens that Vesta is frequently confounded with Cybele. Vesta was also frequently depicted with lightnings in her hand. With this accords a remarkable picture in the work of Raoul Rochette—Monumens d'Antiquité figurée, tab. 58—which is unmistakeably a representation of an initiation into the mysteries of the mother of the gods, or of the Eleusinian Demeter. Like the erect-haired one, as Pan was called, all the figures here have their hair streaming out on all sides, with the exception of the mysterious or Cabiric Demeter, from whom the idea is that the power issues, and a person who kneels, and who, as it seems, is about to be initiated into the mysteries. There are twelve heads with such erect hair. Schweigger traces farther the connection of Vesta with Apollo and Hermes; and in Creuzer's Symbolic, in the fifth table and third figure, we see Vesta, with her staff in her left hand, appear, and extending her right hand towards Hermes, as though she would seize the magic wand with which, according to Virgil, he chases the winds, while Hermes holds this in his left hand towards her. We have already noticed that the priests of Cybele frequently used the Idaic Dactyls instead of the small magnetic stone; whence these dactyls are so frequently found in the

mysteries. This much is, therefore, clear, that the myth of Cybele, with which that of Demeter and Ceres is so frequently confounded, is identical with the Cabiric worship, and that the agricultural religion, which taught the all-nurturing power of mother nature in all the different seasons of the year, arose originally from an observance of electrical phenomena. "Their demons are the Cabiri," says Lucian (Dea Syria, xv. 97)—"and therefore are the Cabiri worshipped by the sacrifice of dogs in the Zerynthian cave, where, in the depths of the subterranean world, Persephone and the fire-god Vulcan, are believed, to prepare the warmth of life for the coming season of the year, necessary for the production of flowers and fruit. Hence the connection of the name of the great Idaic-mother, the beast-producer, the fruit-bringer, with Ceres. According to Schelling, Cybele is the counterpart of the outstretched heavens; according to him the mother of the gods represents the beginning of organic nature,—as Kronos, Typhon, Moloch, do that of the inorganic. Amongst the Egyptians ruled gods of the stars; the first principle, the gods, was predominant with them; while amongst the Greeks it was the sacred principle, that of creative ideality and of spiritual illumination, and thence the glorious powers which they produced. The Greek gods are not of flesh and blood, yet they are beings resembling men.

Cybele is so called from κυβή, a cave, in which her priests, Cureti, dwelt, nine in number, and there held their religious ceremonies and weapon dance, striking with their swords on their shields; a practice which some derive from Phrygia, because in Phrygia especially the cultivation of the Curetidance and orgiestic music are to be sought. Thus, according to Strabo, the Curetes were originally priests, advanced later to demons and gods, to whom men erected temples, and by whose names they swore. He lays down two opinions: either the Cureti, Corybantes, Idaic Dactyls, and Telchines, are identical, or they are kindred beings, and only differ in some minor particulars; and he thence comes to the conclusion that they are of enthusiastic and Bacchic character,—that is, belong to an orgiestic nature-worship, and that the Curetes have much resemblance to the Satyrs.

It was on the sacred mountain of Rhea that the weapon-

dance was held, and ore was brought out to the day; by which we perceive that connection with the Dactyls, that is, with the demons of strength and the arts; for they forged weapons from the ore delivered in by the attendants; "and it is thus natural," says Strabo, "that the Idaic Dactyls should be confounded with the Samothracian Cabiri, whom in Rhodes the Telchines represented. In this," he continues, "all agree, that the Idaic Dactyls first forged iron on Mount Ida; that they were the servants of the mother of the gods, who dwelt in Phrygia near Ida. By Phrygia is meant the district of Troy; for the Phrygians appropriated the lands of Troy, after that city was destroyed by the Grecians. It is supposed also that the Curetes and Corybantes were descended from the Dactyls, for there were at first a hundred Cretans who bore the name of the Idaic Dactyls. From these hundred men arose nine others, who were the Curetes; and every one of these produced two children, and these were then called Idaic Dactyls, like their grandfathers. Others suppose three original Corybantes, as there were three original Curetes, and three divine Bacchuses. The priests of the goddess ran about with wild cries, and with a terrific din of kettle-drums and cymbals, of horns and pipes, dancing their armed quire through woods and mountains, or practised the orgiestic dance, in which in a religious phrensy they wounded each other" (Lucian. de Sallust. 8).

The goddess herself cured madness (Pynd. Pyth. iii.; Diod. iii. 57). "Her priests were physicians—Cybelæ cultores pathici. Onione, the wife of Alexandros—Paris—learned from her the Mantic doctrines (Apollod. iii.) Æsculapius was also brought into connection with the Cybele-worship and the Cabiri. According to Damascius, Æsculapius is not a Greek but a Phœnician; for Sadyc had seven sons, who were declared to be Cabiri or Dioscuri, but the eighth was Æsculapius—Esmun. He was very beautiful, and was beloved of Astarte, the mother of the god. In order to avoid her passion, he mutilated himself, and the sorrowing people placed him amongst the gods, and called him Pœan."

We cannot dwell longer on the worship of Ceres; to which belongs the myth of Triopas and his son Erysichthon (Kornbrand), whom the goddess punished with terrible

hunger; nor can we pursue further the mysterics of the subterranean Persephone; but of the sorcery of Circe we must yet take some notice, after I have given the explanation of the Cybele myth by P. Franc. Pomey, in his "Pantheum mythicum seu fabulosa deorum historia," Leipsic, 1759; Karl Bart has treated at length of the Cureti, the Corybantes, Telchines, and the Dactyls, as well as of the Samothracian Cabiri in Germany.

Cybele, according to Pomey, p. 138, is the goddess of all that is earthly; nay, she is the earth itself. She bears a tower on her head, a key in her hand; because she bears and cherishes the towered cities, and because she locks up her treasures in winter, and then again unlocks them. She travels in a lofty car, because she is round, and floats in the air by the equipoise of her own weight. She is drawn by lions, to show that there is nothing so wild and untamed which may not be subdued by diligence and humanity, and made serviceable. Her dress is adorned with flowers of all colours, and with the forms of the most varied animals,—a circumstance that requires no explanation.

Her name, with various bye-names, springs from various causes. Originally, a daughter of heaven and the wife of time—Saturn—she has her name, according to Strabo and Suidas, from a mountain in Phrygia, where a sanctuary was first erected to her (or ἀπο τοῦ κυβισᾶν) because her priests with streaming hair, and with horrible action and dances, foretold future events. She was called Ops—help—because she brought help to all things; Rhea, from ῥέω, to flow, because she flows round all things with blessings; Dydymene, from a Phrygian mountain; the mother of the gods, and by the Greeks Pasithea, that is, πᾶσι θεοῖς μητῆρ,—the mother of all the gods. She was called the good goddess; also Fauna, the wood-goddess, etc. The place of her temple was Opertum; and thence Lucian sings:—

"Nosse domus stygias, arcanaque ditis operti."

Although in all temples a certain degree of silence prevailed, yet this was most strictly observed in the worship of Cybele; for man honours God by silence, and especially that divinity from whom proceeds the beginning of all things. "Therefore," says Plutarch, "we honour man by

speaking—the gods by silence." Idæa she was called, from Mount Ida in Phrygia, where she was pre-eminently worshipped; Pessinuntia—the fallen from heaven, from a field in Phrygia, where her image was found, and whence the Phrygians first raised a temple to her. It was the custom in this temple, as in that of Bacchus, to celebrate their worship with obstreporous noise of many instruments, and amid many wild cries, whereby, strangely enough, the temple was not opened by hands but by prayer. Amongst the trees, the box and the pine were dedicated to her, because out of the first the pipes were cut, and the pine, on account of the boy Atys, whom Cybele loved, and whom she made the superintendent of her sanctuary on condition of perpetual chastity, but which he violated, and being enraged by the angry goddess, he mutilated himself, and would have committed suicide, to prevent which she changed him into a pine-tree."

The priests of Cybele were also called Galli, from a river in Phrygia of that name, the water of which, when drunk, drove people mad; and therefore the officiating priests cut themselves, and were called gallants. They had also other names,—as Cabiri, Corybantes, etc. etc., which we have frequently quoted. The Corybantes were so called, according to Strabo, from the shaking of their heads in the dance. The Telchines were said to be from Crete, and thence to have gone to Rhodes, and to have been celebrated sorcerers; or, if you will believe others, men, who, on account of their discoveries and proficiency in art, deserved well of the community: being said to be the first who made images of the gods.

There was in Greece originally no district of sorcery, in which a power opposed to nature and the gods could exhibit itself. But it was different in fabulous foreign countries, which richly furnished Greece with marvels and the power of working them. As far as concerned his own land, the youthful imagination of the Greek shaped the gods forth only in dark outlines. But foreign lands had their own marvellous creations of a wonder-believing power of imagination, to which belongs what Homer relates of sorcery and the might of sorcerers, and yet in which it is still obvious that the poet had an historical foundation for his fictions. Such are the Sirens, dwellers in unknown seas;

creatures of an extraordinary magic power, which does not arise from secret arts, but lies especially in the sweetness of their singing, with which the attractive and brain-bewildering power of the sea co-operated. Their action is, therefore, to be compared with that of Amphion and of Orpheus. Miraculous creatures, too, are the Cyclops and the Læstrygones, with whose original meaning we are acquainted: the Giants and Titans are only miraculous because they are now no longer to be found, and they are therefore placed in that unknown land, or in heaven.

Amongst these wonderful beings Circe holds a preeminent place, on account of her magic power and of her native country,—high Asia. "Prometheus did penance in the Caucasus, and to that neighbourhood belongs the notorious magic family, of which there is in Homer and afterwards so much mention,—especially of Pasiphae, Ætes, Circe, and Medea. In Homer nothing is more striking than the wholly un-Grecian nature of the representation of human sorcery. The whole family is derived from Helios by a syncretism apparent from the earliest times in Greece, in order to bring them nearer to the sphere of the gods, and to deduce their arts from them. Circe, herself a goddess, is the sister of Ætes; both are children of Helios and Perse, or Perseis, the daughter of Oceanos. She is brought by Helios into the west. In Colchis there is yet a piece of land called from her Κιρκαῖον" (Wachsmuth, in the Athenæum, B. ii. p. 218).

The magic power of Circe is thus compared with that of the other gods, but continues so far foreign, that in order to effect her metamorphoses she mixes beforehand magic materials, φάρμακα λυγρὰ παγκάρμακος, and must touch her countrymen with a magic rod:—

"On thrones around with downy coverings graced,
With semblance fair the unhappy men she placed.
Milk newly pressed, the sacred flour of wheat,
And honey fresh, and Pramnian wines the treat.
But venomed was the bread, and mixed the bowl
With drugs of force to darken all the soul:
Soon in the luscious feast themselves they lost,
And drank oblivion to their native coast.
Instant her circling wand the goddess waves,
To hogs transforms them, and the sty receives."

ODYSSEY, Book x.

The important magical expression θελγειν, which occurs so frequently afterwards, does not occur so early as this; and the later magic formulæ to prevent sorcery and to detect it, so celebrated in subsequent ages, the Homeric Circe was not yet acquainted with.

But what, however, does present itself in Circe, is of the more accomplished form of sorcery. Thus, according to Apollodorus, she is a strange and terrible, yet at the same time divine being; and she, as such, absolved the Argonauts from the crime of murdering Absyrtus. Virgil gives her, besides the *potentibus herbis*, also *carmina;* that is, besides magic herbs also magic songs, and she now took rank as one of the prime sorceresses of antiquity.

Medea, the niece of Circe, is not mentioned by Homer, who speaks only of her father Æetes. Strange and terrible as is her aid in the combat between Jason and the Hydra, she was not in the older times by any means the terrible and necromantic child murderess, (Wachsmuth, a. a. O.) According to later legends, Medea took her abode in Greece, and knew the means of inflicting curses. She rose into a monster first under the hands of the tragic poets; the legends were continually collecting fresh incidents, and thus Medea became worse from age to age—*fama crescit eundo;* and she is, for example, in the Argonautic expedition, the arch-sorceress, with all her mixing of poisons, her power of changing men into beasts, and her magic ointments.

Pasiphae, also, the sister of Æetes and of Circe, was acquainted with the agency of magic, and by her the legends of the Idaic Dactyls are to be reconciled. In the same manner as the Greek came out of the distant Colchis, came the magic art from mysterious Egypt; yet without acquiring much influence. Hecate did not yet belong to the magic class in the days of Hesiod, and is a different person at this time to Selene. She derived her power only from Zeus, who honoured her so highly that he shared with her the power over the earth, the sun, and the heaven. She gives riches to mortals, and appears as the dispenser of order in war and in the assemblies of the people. That fabulous nocturnal darkness of hers, in which were the infernal dogs, the serpents, etc., is found only in connection with her in later times.

The connection, therefore, of Circe and the Phrygian mysteries is clear, and the explanation is after this too far-fetched when we derive the name, according to Hermann, from "*navigatio in orbem facta*" (De myth. Græc. antiq.)

According to the researches and sagacious combinations of Bart, the Curetes were originally people who dwelt in thick mountain woods and caves, and were very skilful in rearing of cattle, in gathering honey, and shooting with arrows; and who being very warlike, sought their fortunes in war, and therefore introduced the sword, the shield, and the weapon-dance. They lived, according to Homer's Iliad, in Ætolia, and, being expelled thence, afterwards in Acamania. In a religious point of view, the Curetes were, as we have seen, the ministers of the mother of the gods in the orgiestic festivals. They then constituted a sacerdotal caste, became demons, who educated the new-born Zeus, and were also in the service of other gods, from which cause Uranus, Demeter, etc., were called Curetes. Samothrace, as we have said, is the country of the Curetes, where they are called Anaken, and exercised proper electric powers. Bart enters fully into these views, and adds, that the Curetes were the guardians of the young Dionysius and Zeus. As Bacchus also belongs to this circle of the gods, it is necessary that we should notice his myth in reference to its primeval signification.

The ancient mythographers name three Dionysii. 1st. The Indian; the eldest, who gave wine and fruit. 2nd. The son of Dios and Persephone, or, according to others, of Demeter, who taught men to plough with oxen, and thence is represented with horses. 3rd. The son of Dios and Semele. The Lybians, moreover, had three Dionysii. In Egypt Osiris was synonymous with Dionysos. According to the character of the doctrine or the conception, Bart accepts two Dionysi. In the first appears the eldest one as Zagreus, the son of Jupiter and Persephone, and was torn asunder by the Titans. Apollo again put together his limbs, and preserved his heart, out of which arose the second Dionysos, born of Semele. Him also Hera persecuted, on which account Hermes brought him to Cybele, who suckled him and educated him with maternal care. He was either brought up on the sacred Mount Ida, or in Dodona, by the Hyades,

who were Nyssæic and Dodonæic nymphs. Silenus the Curete was his teacher and nourisher, and Hermes bore him as a child into heaven. According to others, Jupiter caused him to be brought to Nissa in the form of a he-goat, and educated by the nymphs, who were then placed in heavens, and as the Hyades brought rain.

Hera perseveringly pursuing him, he became mad, and went to Dodona to be cured; he rode on an ass that could speak, and finally came to the hill of Cybela in Phrygia, whence Rhea carried him off, and consecrated him.

In reality the three Dionysii were one being. A symbolic feast was celebrated in honour of him who was torn to pieces by the Titans, and the history of the old one was transferred to the new. In Zagreus, his tortures and death appear to be his peculiar characteristic,—the mystery of faith. On the other hand, he is the hunter of life, to whom all living are a prey; and according to Snidos, Zagreus was the subterranean Dionysos. He improved the ancient orgies, and founded new; and thus arose the type of the Dionysos-figures. In the bearded god was recognised the Indian; and on the other hand, the son of Semele was effeminate, and inclined to pleasure. The panther-skin denoted the warrior, and the god of peace was distinguished by a flowing, luxurious robe, and the mitre, afterwards a diadem.

The worship of Bacchus spread itself through the whole world; he and Demeter were the benefactors of all, and by all were honoured. His worship in India, Egypt, and farther Asia, is well known; in Arabia, Dionysos and Urania were alone worshipped by all the gods. In Persia, a festival was celebrated in honour of Bacchus, as the producer of verdure, the founder, the re-awakener and genius of spring. In Scythia and Bactria, women celebrated the Bacchanalia with Indian and Thracian customs. From Thracia the worship spread itself towards the north as far as the Ister and to the ocean. The diffusion of his worship was represented under the form of a warlike expedition, and the legends of distant people corroborate this account. It arrived in Greece long before the Theban Cadmus. But commonly Dionysos does not appear as a warrior; he did not compel the people by force, but through enthusiastic practices. He led women in his train, loved music and

jollity, and, therefore, the muses and the satyrs accompanied him. Everywhere he diffused his benefits; taught the cultivation of the vine, the brewing of barley, the culture of grain; and instead of the old, simple worship, a public one, with solemn processions, with bands of musicians and dances. Everywhere he promoted sociality amongst men, and appeared as the establisher of peace, but only amongst the pious and the upright, through which the character of the reformer is apparent.

According to the Indian doctrine, Bacchus was born on Mount Meros, in a cave. Meros, in the Indian, means a thigh; and thence the legend that Bacchus was hidden in the thigh of Zeus. On Meros, Bacchus arrayed his forces for the Indian expedition, and there was the rock on which Zeus destroyed the Typhon.

Passing over the many different names given him by different nations, as Lysius, Lyæos, the conductor of souls from and to heaven; Kolonotas, the lord of graves; Demetrius, of the dead; Licritus, the arisen; Amphietes, the returner; Hyes, the lord of moist nature, etc., which are full of meaning, we shall here only cursorily notice the life and original signification of Dionysos or Bacchus.

Bacchus was most intimately united with Demeter, "the demon and co-ruler in the bosom of the Eleusinian god" (Bart, p. 123.) That was Isis, the daughter of Prometheus, of the ancient Cabiri; thus the same as the Egyptian Cabiri. His being, says Diodorus, is manifold. The Orpheists style him the material soul of the world, which, having proceeded from one source, communicates soul to every part of the world, as the human soul does to the human body. He is the father of Asterion, of the giant, of the Asar, of the Curetes, and who commanded the Corybantish Hyle. Hyle is the wild tumult which stupifies the souls descending from the godhead. She forms, through her impregnation, all bodies; she is that divine drink, the Nectar, awaking the physical life. The spirit in that life is Dionysos; the only, the unchangeable God, who, according to his will, subjects himself to mutability, and appears in air and water, in earth and the stars, in plants and animals, Zagreus in the form of dismemberment. In the myth of the many forms, the doctrine of death and the resurrection are concealed. Thus he

is the creator of the individual as he proceeds from the general, the re-awakener, and form-giver in an eternal circle.

According to the Orphean doctrine (Macrob. Saturnalia, i. 18), he was represented as the Demiurgus, with attributes which the four elements represent, for he ruled in all. Earth and heaven were his body, which is subjected to mutability, but the spirit is eternal. The body is only changed, not destroyed; and at a future day will arise from the grave and appear glorified. For the buried Dionysos himself arose in splendour, descended into the regions of the dead amongst the demons of Demeter, and therefore his intimate connection with Persephone. The Phallus is the pledge of return; the symbol of everlasting production, and of the resurrection of the flesh.

The theory of Dionysos unites itself, after a severe conflict, with that of Apollo. According to Creuzer, in his "Symbolism," p. 156, the worship of Apollo is older than that of Dionysos; and the myth of Lycurgos was a conflict for the ancient faith of light, as unity, against the encroaching pressure of the dominance of the physical world,—against the more easily comprehensible, but as easily misunderstood worship of the deity, till finally one being was recognised in both. Dionysos had his tomb and his resurrection in Delphi; Apollo had buried him in Parnassus, which was consecrated to both. In the cave of Bacchus there was a Delphic oracle; there were two Bacchanalia celebrated every two years, and some regarded the deities as mixed beings, others affirmed that there was but one being. (See Macrobius, Arnobius, Lucan, and Suidas.) Dionysos is, like Apollo, a prophet; and in Thrace he had an important oracle, on the summit of Pangæus, where, as at Delphi, a priestess announced to the father of Augustus the brilliant fortunes of his son. Dionysos, like Apollo, was the head of the Muses, the teacher and patron of song and of poets. Apollo inspired the seers, Bacchus the enthusiasts. Dionysos conducted the souls back again to the primeval fountain, and Apollo rewards his pious worshippers by taking them away from the earth. Dionysos is nourished by Night, Nyssa; he is called Nyssæus, Nyctelius, the hidden of Night. Apollo is the son of Latona, whom Buto cherishes on the Island of

Night. In Egypt, Horus was a son of Osiris, as Attica acknowledged an Apollo given by Dionysos. But the brother of Osiris was also Horus, he who was Zagreus dismembered, and again re-arisen. Apollo betokens unity; Delphos is called the One, who only reveals himself in manifold forms when he advances into the visible world. Light is the symbol of spiritual unity; when it advances into time and space, then it is Horus, the son of the father Osiris. An obscure Delphic doctrine says—Apollo is fulness; Dionysos, privation, want; therefore the former was worshipped for nine months of the year, and the latter during the three winter months. Then he appears as Aides, Nyctelius, compared to the natural, descending sun, who conducts the souls into the nether world, until they have undergone the purification by fire, and arise out of the house of disease and trouble into the fulness of heavenly light.

When Plutarch represents Bacchus and Apollo as prophetic divinities, we find the account very strikingly descriptive of the phenomena of magnetic somnambulism, in which the first ecstasy shows itself in two prominent forms: one clear, gentle, and like light in its perspicacity; a fine moral tone of mind in a tranquil body; the inner vision of a new, unfolded sense revealing itself through a free will in positive action; while the other form has something excited and demoniac, that alternates frivolity and sport, with waywardness and jest, nay, even with raving. These two forms appear well embodied in the myths of Apollo and Bacchus, and wrapped in enigma, which are intelligible to the initiated. There physical is linked to metaphysical, historical to religious, the divine reflected in nature. For all further particulars of the worship of Bacchus, I must refer to Bart's work, and to Schelling's Enquiry into the Samothracian Divinities.

Allied to the Curetes and Corybantes, says Bart, are the Telchines and the Dactyls, which are frequently held to be identical. They appear in these characters—1st. As tillers of land and servants of the gods of the primeval times. A race which emigrated from Crete to Cyprus, and thence to Rhodes. According to others, they were a primeval people in Peloponnesus 1070 years before the building of Rome. They were driven thence, and fled to an island full of serpents,

called from that cause Ophiusa, but after them Telchines, and afterwards Rhodes. They again quitted Rhodes, because they foresaw an inundation of the island, and thence dispersed themselves into different countries. Bart believes that their emigration from Crete stands in connection with that of Apis, who once ruled over the peninsula. He was a son of Telchin, or of Phoroneus, whom some state to be a son of Machus, and others a cotemporary of Ninus, and the father of Jo, or Isis. Apis was thus her brother; Osiris, the Bacchus of the Greeks, came to Egypt as Corybas came to the country of the Tyrrhenes. Even St. Augustine (de civit. Dei, xviii. 5) states that he went to Egypt. According to the legend of Rhodes, the Telchini were natives of that island. According to Diodorus, they were called the demons of the East, because, on account of an offence against Aphrodite, they were hidden in the earth. The giants inhabited the western part of the island.

2ndly. The Telchini were regarded as sorcerers and malicious demons. According to Strabo, πονηροὶ καὶ γοήτες; according to Suidas, πονηροὶ καὶ βάσκανοι δαίμονες. They were believed to be the sons of Thalassa, of the Sea or of Poseidon, and, therefore, Eustathios represents them in the shape of sea-nymphs, without feet, but with fins. They can send hail, rain, and snow, or prevent their falling; they can assume all forms (Diod. v. 55.) They mix Stygian water with sulphur, in order to destroy beasts and plants (Strabo, xiv.) Their glance, the evil eye, is fatal (Ovid. Metamorph.) Here we have already the whole nature of witches portrayed.

"The Telchini," says Bart, p. 10, "were to Poseidon what the Curetes were to Zeus. They were, like them, punished by their foster-child, and may be classified with the giants, as these with the Titans. They foretold a great flood, quitted the island, and scattered themselves through many countries, or they were driven out of the island by the sons of Helios, as the Heliades now increased, and wandered, as if seized by madness, to and fro on the sea, θέλγειν. They were called deluders, because they changed their forms, and understood arts; while, in fact, these evil reports were invented by their enemies out of envy of their

artistic skill, and they were denounced as sorcerers and demons, which is exactly the spirit in which every new doctrine is cried down into a heresy."

3rdly. The Telchini were described as most inventive artists, who established healthful customs, and executed images of the gods. They smelted, in the Idæic caves, brass and iron; forged the sickle of Cronos, with which he mutilated Uranos—(the universal power of Heaven predominates with a decided power over Time)—the trident of Neptune—(the threefold electrical lordship of the sea, as the equipoise between air and water, or as the three points of the electrical fire). They also constructed that pernicious necklace which Haphæstos gave to Hermione (Diod. iv. 65.) In the last character they may have given occasion to allocate them with the Idaic Dactyls, and their descent with that of the Curetes; for Strabo says, they who accompanied Rhea to Crete, and brought up Zeus, were called Curetes "from the nine Telchini of Rhodes." They are called the Telchini of the deep, the sons of Posiedon. They arise out of the deep, and fight in the host of Dionysos. The fleet Telchini follow him on sea-horses (Pausanias, ix. 19.) These were images of Apollo, of Hera, and of Athene, which were called Telchini, in which there probably lay a principle of magic; and thus there was a Telchinic Hera, as there was a Cabiric Demeter.

The Dactyls originated in Phrygia; we have already become acquainted with their number and kind as sorcerers, discoverers of arts, and scientific physicians. The name Mount Ida is by others derived from mother Ida and the father Dactylos; the number is as differently calculated. According to some they are equal to the fingers of the hands,—five male, and five female. Pherecydes gives twenty right, and two-and-thirty left; others a hundred, because a hundred men came from Crete; Orpheus the Argonant gives a whole throng; Pausanias five, namely, Hercules, Epimedes, Pæon, Jason, and Idas. Celmus, or the Telchinic Scelmus, is called by Hesychias a child, a kind of Cadmil, probably one who produced magical effects by words and songs. Telchin was also called Damanamenes, the powerful, the binder, especially he who binds the oxen to the yoke; Epimedes is called the reflector, the director of

counsel. The names Jason, Pæon, Idas-Akesidas, betoken professors of the healing art. Acmon is called the mountain-runner; he is in the host of Bacchuses, and whirls the Corybant lance, on which Zeus slept as an infant, while his birth was concealed by the din of shields struck together. An Idæic finger means an iron-finger. They were conjurors, magicians, exorcists of sickness, soothsayers. They occupied themselves with magic songs, consecrations, mysteries, and, while they remained in Samothrace, threw the inhabitants into great astonishment. As sorcerers they appeared in Italy, according to Plutarch. It was said the left bind spells, the right unloose them; and to catch a dactyl was a usual adage for a fruitless attempt. Their names already were magical, having power to repel terrible phenomena. To them belongs the use of the Ephesian runes, the discovery of which is attributed to them, as to Hercules that of the Phrygian letters. The discovery of the minerals was also ascribed to them, as well as the notes of music and the musical scale. They first brought musical instruments into Greece. In Crete they discovered fire; they were rapid runners and dancers, and the Dactylus was a peculiar kind of dance; the Dactylon a famous healing herb, etc. From them proceed the first wise men; Orpheus was their scholar, who brought the mysteries to Greece. They were already called the ministers of Cybele, and Schweigger has demonstrated them to be the magnetic powers and spirits, at the head of whom was Hercules.

"While," says Bart, "we treat of the close union of the Dactyls and magnetic force, we are not necessarily confined to the magnetic stone, and our views of nature, but take a glance at magnetism in its whole meaning. Then it is clear how the initiated, who called themselves Dactyls, created astonishment in the people through their magic arts, working, as they did, marvels of a healing nature. To this united themselves many other things which the priesthood of antiquity was wont to practise; the cultivation of the land and of morals, the advancement of art and science, mysteries and secret consecrations. All this was done by the priestly Cabiri, and wherefore not guided and supported by the secret spirits of nature? Thus was their knowledge linked

to the religious sense, and Hercules affords an example of the intermingling of these ideas."

Bart then goes into a closer observation of the myth of Hercules; shows how difficult it was for the oldest inquirers to personify him in every shape; rightly to explain his genealogy, of which eight different accounts are received, namely, the Indian, the Egyptian, the Idaic, the Phœnician, the Greek, the Tyrian, etc. He then shows the origin and meaning of the name,—originally Alcæos, Alcides, allied to Alcis. He relates his history and his expeditions, in which many see a conflict between the sun and the power of nature,—others, a veiled historical event. These expeditions are to Spain, to Celtiberia, and Germany, to the Alps and Italy, to the north-east and Scythia, and to the Hyperboreans to fetch the golden apples. Hercules spread cultivation and a mild religion, destroyed the doctrine of eternal punishment by dragging Cerberus from the nether world, ascended to heaven through the purification by fire, and endeavoured everywhere to put an end to human sacrifices. As a raw youth, before he liberated Prometheus, and had spoken with Atlas and Chiron, he was the opponent of oracles; but after he became older and more considerate, he was a great philosopher, and showed himself proficient in the Mantic and Dialectic. In the myth of the attempted theft of the Delphic tripod, we see the enemy of oracles, or rather the Hercules, become wise, and comprehending the feeling of the people. Schweigger sees in him the opposite magnetic pole of Apollo, whence he was called the Hyperborean Hercules. Through the release of Prometheus, and the erection of altars, we behold in him the mediator between the old and new faiths. He represents the introduction of the electric power to general usefulness, yet with that mysterious veiling of it in temples, of which there were many, in all countries, dedicated to Hercules. His voluntary immolation betokens the ethereal new-birth of men. Like Heracles, he exhibited himself as a religious hero, displaying his might and affinity to the primeval gods,—the primeval powers. He descended into the realm of Pluto as a familiar acquaintance; yet as a shade,—the slumbering magnetic force; he ascended as a spirit to his father Zeus in

Olympus, whither he is conducted by Athene and Hebe. The accomplishing, regulating, and eternally youthful power, receives him in the form of a child, and reconciles him to Hera.

Hercules, says Lucian, did not subject the nations to im by force, but by wisdom and persuasion. He was Alexis, Alexicacos, the turner back of the wicked; Soter, the saviour; Melos Eumelos, the good shepherd; the prophet Manticlos; Daphnephoros, the bearer of laurel, because the chewing of laurel leaves awoke the gift of prophesying. Being obliged to serve, he was the stronghold of servants, and his temple an asylum of slaves. On account of his indomitable strength, he is Adamarnos, the conqueror; he is the terrific and overpowering Titan; he is Astrochiton, the star-clothed, the Lord of Fire; Hippodetos, the tamer of horses, all of which has reference to electricity and magnetism, and by which the images of the Dioscuri are represented. The Sabines named him *dius fidius,* synonymous with Dioscure. Therefore, he and Mars were held to be the same being; he was, like Apollo, Musagetes; the brother of Persephone: the Chaldæans named the star Mars, Hercules. He was the refuge of mankind, who launched the lightning, more powerful than his father. He was the symbol of the powers of nature; the god of nature, by name Liber, Hercules, Mercury,—as the producer, the all-wise, the omnipotent.

It has been already shown that the mysteries of Samothrace busied themselves pre-eminently with the inquiries into nature. People knew the polarity of the magnet, the attractive and repellent power. The magnet was in Egypt the bone of Horus, and iron that of Typhon. The magnet, Claudian says, is the all-working power, which carries in itself the seed of all things; eclipses of the sun and moon, the phenomena of comets, the tempest of wind, earthquakes, thunder, the rainbow,—all come through its means. That is not the simple magnet, it is the law of nature, the living power, which, drawing and repelling, creates and keeps together the parts of the world through which the stars are propelled and whirled round in their courses, while the opposite poles seek each other. The magnet is the symbol of this power, and as it creates and turns the world it pro-

duces men. Hymen, the god of marriage, is its son. Production is the highest assertion of the power of magnetism, and this power is Hercules (Clemens Alex. Strom. viii. 704). In India he is Parabrahma Birma, and Vishnu, the centrifugal and centripetal force. Through the poetical elaboration of so many and different elements, of nature and history, of trade and religion, the myth of Hercules receives a many-sidedness, and offers points of particular observation at every stage of their interpretation.

That the ancients also understood magnetising by the hands, that is to say, produced the effects which follow touching, rubbing, and laying on of hands, is made manifest sometimes by clearly expressed words, and sometimes by pictures and signs. The Telchini, who were considered as sorcerers and enchanters, seem to have received their names from the word θέλγω,—to stroke, to touch softly, —and not from any place. For under θέλγω is also understood to stupefy, to put to sleep. This is confirmed by the account of Circe and other enchanters in Homer, and by images and hieroglyphics of antiquity to be seen in Montfaucon, Champollion, and Denon, as well as in the drawings of 750 ancient monuments, statues, engraved stones, coins, and pictures in Millin's Mythologic Gallery, all having reference to magnetic manipulation. In the Cabinet of Curiosities of Athan-Kircher there is, amongst others, a hand adorned with hieroglyphics, which, according to the statement of ancient writers, was carried about in *sacris Isidis*. In Müller's Monumens de l'art antique, i. livraison, ii. planche, No. 14, the goddess Artemis Leucophryne. Two winged genii hold over the head of the goddess a kind of fan, while the goddess holds two magnetic staves in her hands. Before her are lying two men, one of whom has a magnet in the right hand, and the other appears to have a magnetic ring in the left, with the right stretched towards the magnetic staff. Beneath is the inscription, μαγνητων.

There are also other similarities of the ancient myths to the actual phenomena of magnetism, as in the signification and the use of precious stones, the electrical power of which in the finest modifications of the most marvellous phenomena the latest scientific discoveries have only now disclosed. It is,

indeed, something more than a mere fantastic poem when Orpheus describes so minutely the effects of precious stones; when the many zealous inquirers into the hidden powers of nature,—no doubt often fanatical,—attribute so many healing virtues to them; and which Voss has so fully described in his "De theologia gentili," tom. ii. The Jewish highpriests themselves wore on their hearts the breast-plate set with the twelve precious stones, by which divinations were to be obtained. Amongst other instances of the effect of jewels on different persons in producing clairvoyance and the like I have already quoted the case of the seeress, widow Petersen von Bende Bendsen, who asserted the decided effects of brilliants and other substances, the diamond being the most powerful of them. The widow Petersen used even small, but powerfully operating *Baquete*, which she herself constructed; and I myself treated a patient with a like affection in the same way; and on this occasion quicksilver and borax had a particularly striking effect. The same clairvoyant spoke of the powerful effect of juniper and of laurel in promoting clear spiritual vision, as we have noticed in the case of the Delphian oracle.

Haüy was the first to discover and demonstrate the electricity of crystals, and to show that these electric crystals not unfrequently presented exceptions to the otherwise invariable laws of symmetry in crystallization; whence it follows that the electric power must be an active power, especially as regards the formation of crystals, since they as active laws appear to have the same influence. Haüy speaks with enthusiasm of the small crystals of borax which represent an eight-fold electricity. One may ask, he says, in the conclusion of the first part of his Physics, whether the effects produced by the admirable construction of our scientific machines can present anything more astonishing to the eye, or more capable of exciting the interest of professors of physics, than these small electrical instruments produced through crystallization, these unions of the most opposed influences, compressed into a crystal of scarcely two *millimetres* in thickness,—not a single Parisian line. And here again the often repeated observation presents itself, that those productions of nature which seem as

if they would withdraw themselves from our notice, are not unfrequently exactly those which are the most worthy of it.

That astrology always constituted a leading feature in the mysteries of the ancients is well known; that the places and motions of the heavenly bodies were considered to exercise a decided influence on all the chief events of life, even on our birth, is a well-known historical fact. Was it likely then that the influences of the stars on human ailments would be unknown to the Mystagogues who were so well acquainted with the silently operating forces of nature? The history of the most ancient philosophy proves that they knew these things well; and if the magnetic clairvoyants perfectly agree with the ancients not only as to the influence of the sun and moon, but even of particular stars and constellations, as was the case with the widow Petersen, we have thus a clear agreement between antiquity and modern science, over which the very knowing and highly learned may laugh, but which will excite astonishment in industrious natural philosophers and true observers at their perverse ignorance and admiration of the order-producing omnipotence of the great Creator.

In conclusion, I must not forget that illumination and those appearances of light which our somnambules assert that they often see, now surrounding their genii and guardian angels which appear to them, and now round their magnetisers. Does not this recall to every one the luminous horns of Moses, and that ancient expression, "the horns of healing," with which the horns of Jupiter Ammon agree?—whence it appears that the ancient expounders of that wonderful magic light in the mysteries, which, as Pliny says, surrounds the heads of men in prophetic announcement, regarded it as an unusual, exalted, and, to the uninitiated, a blinding fire; while others have considered it to be electrical. They were accustomed to represent the light which surrounded the head of Athena, and mingled and interwove itself with her locks, as luminous horns, as in the moon. The healing double fires of the Dioscuri were represented as lunar horns, and paintings of them were represented with stars above their heads. With this accords the Hermes or Elmes fire, and the luminous staff of Mercury and its wings; and the lunar

horns with wings also point to remarkable symbols. Those luminous appearances round the head, which we have already become acquainted with amongst the ecstatic Brahmins, are not merely found amongst the gods of Greece, to whom we have here referred, but are applied to the hero of the Odyssey:—

> "Scornful of age, to taunt the virtuous man,
> Thoughtless and gay, Erymachus began:—
> Hear me, he cries, confederates and friends!
> Some god, no doubt, this stranger kindly sends;
> The shining baldness of his head survey,
> It aids our torch-light, and reflects the day."
>
> Book xviii.

I have spoken more fully of these illuminations in a historical and scientific point of view in my work on "Magnetism in relation to Nature and Religion." More than two hundred years ago, Bartholin delivered an interesting account of the illuminations of men and animals. We shall, as we proceed, hear frequently of similar appearances, and must confess that we are convinced that these lights, if not actual electrical lights, are and remain always subjective phenomena of an ecstatic condition, and are one in principle, though shaped according to the popular ideas of the time: so that to the oracle-pronouncing Greek appears the winged Hermes, the luminous Apollo, or Minerva, "the heavenly goddess of splendour who scatters the darkness," as the genius; while to the modern somnambule it appears as an angel, a saint, or the holy mother.

The conditions of human nature remain the same, but circumstances are different, and vary with time and place. The conditions conceal themselves, but the circumstances come forth to the light, which occasion a difference in the illumination, and in the significance of it, which can be only properly interpreted when we go down to the cause of the subject state.

We think now that by our comparison of the ancient facts of divination, sorcery, and the circumstances attending the delivery of the oracles, with the facts of modern science and observation, we have solved many ancient riddles. We believe that we have adduced sufficient evidence that magic was contained in the ancient mythologies; that mythology in many respects only receives its

true interpretation from the point of view afforded by the natural philosophers, because there were not only historical and religious, but also philosophical enigmas, involved in these systems. We have quoted the assurance of Strabo, that "the ancients concealed their physical views of things in enigmas, and their scientific observations in myths." As a concluding justification of our attempts in this respect, we may quote the words of a distinguished natural philosopher, as it regards mythology:—

"It is very striking, that in all ages all people have clothed the ideas of their dreams in the same imagery. It may, therefore, be asked, whether that language which now occupies so low a place in the estimation of men, be not the actually waking language of the higher regions, while we, awake as we fancy ourselves, may not be sunk in a sleep of many thousand years, or at least in the echo of their dreams, and only intelligibly catch a few dim words of that language of God, as sleepers do scattered expressions from the loud conversation of those around them."—Schubert's Symbolism of Dreams.

"If we do not understand the pictorial style of the ancients, it is clear that we are become estranged to the region in which that pictorial language was formed. Since it constitutes the entire mode of expression of the most ancient times, and arose simultaneously with those peoples, so are all myths poetic-symbolic-metaphoric inspirations of a transcendent material power of nature, or the physical incarnation of an infinite spirit."—Steinbeck, The Poet as Seer.

"It is possible that the idea of unconsciousness in the formation of myths may appear to many dark, or even magical, for no other reason than that the mythic creative power has no analogy in our present modes of thought; but will not history recognise the extraordinary, where free inquiry leads unquestionably to it?"—Ottfr. Müller's Prolegomena.

FOURTH SECTION.

THE MAGIC OF THE GERMANS.

As we now arrive at the third and last period of the history of magic, I recall the recollection of the reader to that part of the work in which I endeavoured to show how in the three chief periods, the Oriental, the Greco-Roman, and the German, magic shaped itself characteristically according to the natural spirit of the people; how the transit and the diffusion of it gradually took place, and the spiritual life of the German people struck its roots into the Greco-Roman element, and by its peculiar and powerful individual strength elaborated the manifold collected materials in lasting fermentation into a new and living impulse. It was shown how the German people in the infancy of its arising and of its first development in the newly-conquered lands, received so many-sided an excitement, and through the gradual decline of the Roman ascendancy not only appropriated its intellectual acquisitions, but succeeded to the educational element of the Arabs; to which advantages the Alexandrine school also added a particularly important influence both on the philosophical direction of mind and on the new religious doctrines; so that it becomes very intelligible how magic in Germany became as multifarious in its growth and progress, as it had shown itself in all forms of the Oriental and Greco-Roman times, and yet in a pre-eminently religious and Christian dress. As Christianity acquired root and growth in the Germanic race earlier than in all others, and as Christianity became a very important turning point for the modification

of magic, the history of magic at this period is inseparable from the development of Christianity.

The mythologic process closed with the Grecian period, as Schelling has beautifully shown, and Christianity then became the central point of history. Nor has Christianity yet reached its full accomplishment; it is in the process of its growth and the diffusion of its light, which proceeded from Christ, the focus of all history, into which all individual rays, and all that the wise have sought out, collect themselves as a principle, that now the mystery may be unfolded to babes and sucklings, and the word of truth may be preached. From Christ emanated the light of the eternal word, which, encompassing the whole world, shall spread itself over all people, as the one happiness-producing idea, for the salvation of the whole race, and in which every nation and every individual must educate themselves, and come to a clear and perfect consciousness. The mystic hovering in a darkling feeling shall become purified and comprehensible, and faith be understood. Christ himself says, "Nothing is hidden that shall not be revealed; what I say unto you in the darkness shall be proclaimed in the light and on the house-tops."

Universal history not only demonstrates an advance of the human race in civilisation, but still more in the development of different intellectual powers in all directions, in which the primeval ideas of truth and goodness, of beauty and of truth, come forth from the subjective ground into the objective revelation. The mightiest nations are always those who in a general development most purely and perfectly manifest a peculiar spirit, or the substance of some particular idea. People who have not impressed upon them these primeval ideas in a permanent form, are destitute of history, and disappear like shadows on the arena of the world. Thus we have only three historical ancestors from whom we draw our history of magic—the Oriental, the Greco-Roman, and the German. These people have raised themselves above all others by their intellectual stamina, and with a characteristic strength, and have planted on a certain elevation of development the focus of an advanced knowledge, which can never more vanish from history, but must for ever pass on to a fresh posterity, and be again

brought forward by it, but only in a new form, and more varied and entwined with the roots of its peculiar strength of life. "With firm pace, like a procession of the dynasties of a kingdom, history now marches forward along a chain of nations, each of which seizes on the dominion of the world in an ever-ascending power, and retains it for a longer duration, placing itself in the van of the intellectual world till it is pushed aside by another; thus extending from the Assyrians to the Germans, the people of the present world-period, in whom the unity again appears to divaricate in a multitude of states, amongst whom now these now those preponderate, but who altogether constitute a closely-woven system, and gravitate towards an invisible point, and are governed by the laws of universal development." —C. F. Haug's General History.

It is a fact in the history of the world, that with the advent of Christ the Germans first appeared on the arena of the world—a circumstance of such deep moment, that we do not perfectly understand Germanity if we do not include a knowledge of this coincidence. For the complete establishment of the divine idea in the development of humanity, it is necessary to presuppose at once Christianity and Germanity. Germanity, in fact, has an organisation more capable of the reception of Christianity than any other people. Truly, the good seed might have fallen into rough and uncultivated ground, where after a long slumber it might have put forth wretched and uncertain foliage,—the frivolously-ideal Greek, and the able-bodied, strong-limbed Roman, having outlived their periods, without being able rightly to comprehend the deep, the whole man-pervading doctrine of Christ. For this the German people was destined, which now possesses the post of ruling the world. Our present subject stands in close connection with this, as will soon be made apparent.

In the preceding mythological observations we have arrived at the result, that a natural philosophy excluding all secret practice and teaching was first made possible by the Christian religion with its universality of love for man, and its conflict against any contempt of our fellow-creatures. For that purpose, the great book written for all, the totality of nature, was thrown open, and

Christianity was made the religion of the world, not merely for the perfect development of all the primeval ideas of the soul, but also for the opening up of nature, and for the right use of her powers. The glory of genuine Christianity consists in this, that, considered in relation to other religions, it does not suffer itself to be separated from culture and science, from the accomplishment of the intellect and from natural philosophy. On that account the first apostles addressed themselves only to such people as possessed the necessary degree of cultivation for the comprehension of the higher truths; to whom they might say, not in vain: "Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Christ himself, as we have seen above, appeared in a particular time, and amongst a particular people, in order to reveal the word of the Father—the bringing back of a sinful race. As an earlier appearance of Christ would have failed of its grand object—to awaken the universal love of mankind,—a later appearance would have been a delay, since the darkening and perversion of the human spirit had reached its highest point, and nature, instead of a dwelling-place and an instrument of the spirit, was become to men a dungeon, as to the beasts without understanding; and, as St. Paul says, "Howbeit, then, when ye knew not God, all did service to them which by nature are no gods" (Galatians, iv. 8).

When the human spirit possessed no higher wisdom than the earthly and the human, than that which reason and the light of nature gave it, nature was to it a sealed book—a Babel. Man had wholly fallen from his empire; his sense and language were confused; no consciousness of the real object of life remained to him, nor of the true use of means. Man was blind, and deaf, and lame, as it regarded the kingdom of nature. He would climb, by the tower of sorcery, up to heaven, and the eye met only a delusive light; out of all objects glared demoniac visages; the lute of nature gave forth voices of condemnation, filling the heart with fear and terror, despair and madness, instead of peace, rest, and truth; and where the enterprising hand seized on the elements to compel the powers of nature to service, the attempt was defeated in the conflict, or totally repelled.

"But the soul of the old Adam had lusted after the lord-

ship of outer rule, and his will was sundered from the unity of God, and carried away in the dominion of this world; so that this was converted into a monstrosity. The true spirit withered; the light of God was extinguished; and the divine idea became benumbed and dead in him. To this spirit now came Jesus; and as he assumed human nature to restore it, he brought back again the light into the darkness. In this light stands the soul again in original fatherland, as in her first days, when the spirit of God wrought in her. She stands there in vision, and may inquire into all things; and she understands the language of nature, and works with her strength. In delusion—that of Adam—there is no perfection; the spirit of God in His Son must be the guide, otherwise he stands in an outward mystery, as in the outward heaven of the stars, but not in the divine magic school, which consists only in a simple, child-like spirit. The outward guide—theoretic reason—works only in a glass; but the inner sense, directed of God, shines into the soul; and, therefore, the choice stands with God: he who comprehends the heavenly school will become a Magus—a creator out of self-knowledge—without wearisome running; and even if he must greatly exert himself, yet is he penetrated by God, and will be impelled by the Holy Spirit."—Jacob Böhme.

To all nations before Christ the world was enchanted. Through Christianity will she become disenchanted, and the true magic be restored. Religion amongst the ancients had degenerated into a worship of the stars, and the cosmic powers were idolised. Even amongst the Jews revelation took place through symbols and through the elements of nature. The true reconciliation of deeply-fallen humanity with God; the release of the spirit from the bonds of nature; the separation of the sensual from the intellectual, the animal from the divine, appearance from reality; the ideas of truth and goodness, of right and virtue, of motive, freedom, and immortality, were first made possible through the pure doctrine of Christianity. But although by obedience to, and true faith in, the words of Christ, any one may enter with him "to-day" into Paradise; yet the substance of the faith can only become the possession of entire

humanity, by being expanded to its full extent in the course of time. Now, as Germanity seems especially designed to realise and to carry out Christianity to that full extent, it is easy to perceive that in the footsteps of the Greco-Roman cultivation the first beginnings everywhere must imperfectly succeed; and that thus magic amongst the ancient Germans was of such a kind, that you might say with Pliny, not only of the pagan Germans, but of the Christian ones,—"Magiam attonite celebrant tantis cæremoniis, et eam dedisse Persis videre possit." The belief in sorcery amongst the northern nations was, moreover, universal; and the scientific endeavour to make intelligible the ancient gods and the demon-life; to separate the operations of the powers of nature from those of the spirit; to divide the inner existence of religion from hypocrisy and mere ceremonies, could only succeed slowly and partially. The idea of angels and devils being given by the Christian religion, and the nature of ecstasy and the psychological fundamental activity of the soul being as little understood as the mysterious operation of the powers of nature, especially in pathological circumstances; supernatural action of the soul, therefore, in all unusual phenomena, was considered as something settled, or as if, on the other hand, nature was entirely dead, and only used as the material and instrument of superhuman powers. It must have been very difficult for the few more profound inquirers and material observers to operate on the universal prejudice, and to enlighten ignorance, which was only possible by slow degrees, and by this means, that with the critical examination of the Scriptures as to religion and spiritual philosophy, the inquiries into, and the fathoming of nature and her powers was at the same time undertaken, and, spite of all opposing influences, carried through,—a process to which Christianity itself had given the occasion. For one of the most wayward fixed ideas of pagan sorcery was through Christianity already set aside; the belief, namely, that the power of the gods might be restrained by nature and by forces independent of themselves; a feature which is characteristic of the Greeks and Romans, as in the cases of Medea, Circe, Erectho, Canidia, mentioned by Horace,

all of whom exerted a command over the might of the gods, over the stars and the fates of men, and who were fully believed in by the people, and celebrated by the poets.

The propensity to search the nature of things to the very bottom is in no people so decided as in the German. The German seizes on the smallest as on the greatest things—the natural or the spiritual—with equal zeal, and pursues it with indefatigable industry. He follows the trace of appearances; and where not the smallest reward is to be expected, he still pursues the way which leads to discovery. With Christianity, descends to the German race also the echo and the character of the cultivation of the two historical directions of mind,—the elder Oriental idealism, and the later Greco-Roman realism, which we embrace in our conception of the world. These two fundamental views were now transferred especially to the region of German faith in sorcery. What a field for labour lay before them! to reconcile the opposing principles; to separate the heathen and the Christian elements; to comprehend the natural and the divine; to separate faith from mere knowledge; and, finally, to discriminate the phenomena of genuine magic from the spectres of the imagination.

The Christian religion is based on the principle of the unity of God. God is the one eternally moral Lord of the spirits, as the Creator of physical nature. The faith in sorcery must, therefore, assume a wholly new and different form, however similar the radical idea and the tendency might remain to the heathen. The idea of Satan as the principle of evil,—as one of the angels originally good, but now fallen from the allegiance of the Creator,—Christianity had received from Judaism. This being, endowed with free-will, this prince of darkness, persisting in his error and self-rule, and everywhere establishing evil, and who also in the oriental Parseeism was one of the two original principles, had, according to the Christian idea, lost his dominion after the appearance of Christ; since the Messiah was he who was, in fact, to crush the head of the subtle serpent. It is, therefore, the triumph of the Messiah that he destroyed the kingdom of the devil, overcame the powers of darkness, and entirely annihilated the influence of the Wicked One over the new-born spirit. "For this end is the Son of God

come into the world, that he may destroy the works of the devil" (I. John, iii. 8). The works of the flesh and of darkness are the sins and departures from the law, because they were done by the heathen and the children of darkness. "Who is a wise man and endowed with knowledge amongst you? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom" (James, iii. 13). "So let us put off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these,—adultery," etc. (Galatians, v. 19). "And you, that were sometimes alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled" (Colossians, i. 21). "Put off the old man and his works. By nature are we all incapable of good; by his natural strength can no man do good works, but they are the fruit of faith, and this is a gift of the Holy Ghost; and he who has not the faith is dead; but true faith becomes active through love" (Ephes. ii. 11), etc.

As the idea of Satan thus passed over into Christianity, the deeply-rooted belief in sorcery was possible, and hence was not thoroughly expelled, though Christ had trodden on the head of the serpent. For as the tenacity and, as it were, the indestructibility of the serpent ever returns again, and as the spirit of evil is immortal and maliciously disposed to all the arts of seduction; thus the faith in sorcery could not be driven out of religion even by the New Testament, though it was unfavourable to it. The conquered but not annihilated god of hell retained at least listeners. The attractions of sensual pleasures and of base deeds, juggling delusions, and injurious acts; inexplicable phenomena beyond the ordinary course of nature; mysterious diseases, plagues, etc., were attributed, if not to the devil, at least to the influence of demoniac spirits; and the devil himself came pre-eminently into the ascendancy again through the first ascetics and anchorites; and his kingdom so increased in the opinion of the Christian believers in the course of time, that, in the middle ages, strengthened by a chain of learned maxims and dogmatic sophistries, it was spread through both the high and the low ranks of society; and by the end of the fifteenth century witchcraft and the black art had attained an

elevation such as they never before possessed in history; and a terrible power was ascribed to the devil, while Christianity, with all the weapons of its extended armoury, and with fire and sword, took the field, and no longer felt itself in security, but seemed almost to wander surrounded by a regular demon host.

Before we pass on to the especial observation of magic and of the philosophical views of it amongst the Germans, we must notice the changes in religious faith produced by Christianity, as these showed themselves in the early ages, shaped according to the operation of natural causes. The phenomena of ecstasy are those particularly which passed with the ideas of the new-Platonism on the divinatory nature of man over into the early Christian philosophy; and, besides, the pagan elements could not be so easily abandoned, that the reign of demonism should at once and entirely cease. The German Year-Books of Science and Art, by Ruge, 1842, contain a critical treatise on the influence of the heathen religion of nature on the early Christian theology, which has besides for us a considerable interest in respect to magic.

Amongst other things it is said,—In the Phrygian religion of nature there were ecstatics, so that some have supposed that we may attribute the origin of Montanism to these; but this is by no means necessary. Both forms of religion have an enthusiastic character, but the principles in the two are totally different: yes, that of Montanism was essentially rooted in Christianity, and the relationship was only in outward appearance, and in the modulating circumstances of place, nationality, &c. The ancient Phrygian religion expresses itself, as we have seen, in the ascetic and orgiestic manner amongst the people of Asia Minor: a wrestling and striving in the press of wild forces could not lift them out of sensuality and debauch; hence their lawless and dissipated festivals. On the other hand, they were by their strict religious doctrines directed to penance for the subjugation of their passions. In the fanatic proceedings of the Montanists we see, indeed, something of the same character,—the same striving of the religious life after physical forms of representation; but no one need seek satisfaction in an attempted mastery over the dark powers

of immediate nature through the ferment of the senses, and in dreams of the impending end of all things, and of the joys of the new Jerusalem, of whose gates the ascetics professed to be the keepers. The circumstances of fanaticism, the conceptions of it, were different to the Phrygian worship of Cybele; Montanism had overcome the worship of nature, although there was yet no violent opposition of heathenism and Christianity: for heathenism retired at all points, and the scene of action was modelled anew, as, for instance, those of the Orphic hymns, and the Delphic oracles. Heathenism especially expresses itself in the dual system of philosophy, which keeps asunder the contending forms of the phenomena of spirit, but whose dynamic interwoven powers, not anatomically separated, must be regarded as modest opponents. In Montanism there are Jewish and Christian elements, but no longer heathen ones, although the Oriental, Egyptian, and Greek influences are everywhere visible. The mixing, and the thence arising fermentation of the popular spirit, determine the characteristic visions, and the interpretation of others resembling them. The ecstasies of the Montanists, however highly pitched, were the lower magnetic somnambulic appearances, for they were entirely, like the pagan oracles, united with the unconsciousness of the subject; and the divination of their women, of whom they carried two about with them, was of a very dubious kind, as they prophesied the end of things; and Maximilla even asserted that no other prophetess would come after her.

The interpretation of the Apostolical writings, especially those of Paul, through their philosophical reasoning, bore with the fathers of the church the impression of the Platonic philosophy and of the new-Platonism. The ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ποιήτου τῆς διάνοιας of Plato (Ion), and the interpretation of the ecstatic speech of the Manticer, Timæus, remind us entirely of the tongue-orator in the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. The divination of Plotinus, Philostratus, &c., in the new-Platonism, who in sleep had intercourse with the divine, is of the same kind, so that the Greek influence is everywhere visible in the Christian theories, and, which is the most striking, in the Montanist doctrines. Between the pagan and Christian forms of phenomena the therapeutics of Plato, to a certain degree, place themselves.

In the first two centuries, in the Paulist period firstly, and in the Montanist period secondly, people continually referred to the internal gifts of prophecy as demonstrated in the modes of revelation of which two parties were the prevailing ones,—those of Paulism and Patrism, or of the Judaic Christianity. The first supported themselves on the immediateness of their revelations and visions; the others sought their support in their immediate union with Christ. These views were not without their opponents. Already the Clementines declared the visionary circumstances and the Pauline ὑπτασιαι and ἀποκαλυψεις as demoniacal effects. According to them knowledge flows from the prophet outwards, and the immediate visions afforded to Peter (Matth. xvi. 16) are the types of all genuine announcements of the truth, which are, it is true, the result of supernatural influence, but that Peter only owed his to the ἐνεργεῖν,—power of God. The demoniacal revelations are ἐνεργουμενοι.

The means of producing ecstasies were, for the rest, perfectly natural; as the smoke of sacrifice, and mysterious ceremonies and preparations, as previously in the oracles, by which in part the natural causes, as in the ascertainment of diseases, were discovered, as among the Clementines, for instance, fanatic phrensy; and in part they were described as the immediate operations of God, as in the Pauline vision of the Montanists.

During the decline of the Roman empire, visions increased amazingly, although men thereby acquired a greater terror of pagan idol-worship, because they believed that the idols were inhabited by demons. Thence arose that fearful and general doctrine of the devil, to which partly the belief that the heathen worked their magic effects by the help of the fiends, and to which the ascetics partly gave occasion, who, through their eremitic seclusion and their horror of pollution through the ordinary intercourse with society, maintained internal conflicts with temptations and tormenting devils. The gnostics generally saw in their transports spirits and souls; their visions personified themselves in living shapes, and stepped forth on the scene in correct colour and dress, as afterwards in the middle ages, and even at the latest period, has occurred again. Also at that time visions frequently appeared while people were awake,

and by a disturbed state of consciousness which all the more assumed an appearance of the wonderful, and called to mind supernatural influence, as they were accompanied by terrible and cramp-like convulsions.

It has often been asserted that the oracles ceased at the advent of Christ; while, on the other hand, the fathers of the church adduced the testimonies of the oracles and sibyls to prove the divinity of the religion of Christ. Justin Martyr, Eusebius, Lactantius, Jerome, Ambrosius, Augustine, St. Clemens of Alexandria, etc. all speak of those prophecies. Irenæus had divining women, whom he commanded to prophesy. Montan and his disciples reckoned prophesying as spiritual gifts, and boasted openly of their prophetic visions. Irenæus did not contradict them, and Tertullian honoured them. He describes (De anima, c. ix.) such a prophetess in the following words:—"There is with us a sister who possesses the gift of prophecy; she falls usually during divine service on Sunday into ecstasy, in which she has communication with angels and spirits,—yes, sometimes with the Lord himself. She penetrates then into the secrets of some hearts, and heals others by medicines. The reading of the sacred Scriptures, the singing of hymns, and prayer, give material for her visions, in which she once also described the shape of the human soul." One of the most zealous defenders of divination was Constantine the Great, who is said to have delivered a long speech on the truth of the sibyls, which was read in the assembly of the church at Nice. (R. P. Crasset, Dissertation sur les oracles des Sibylles, Paris, 1678.)

FIRST DIVISION.

THE MAGIC OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS AND OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS.

THE ancient Gauls and Cymri were classed among the Celts. The Celts, according to Grimm, were driven by the Germans and the northern races from the much wider regions which they originally occupied in Europe, to the western end of it. We shall under that title understand all the north-western nations, since they afterwards either spread themselves all over those countries, or became amalgamated with their inhabitants. All these peoples, as the Gauls, the Spaniards in part, the Britons and Belgians, with the ancient Germans, we will take together, since we speak of no particular mythology, and of no individual history, and see whether we find any magic amongst them.

In the first place we must remark that it is not believed that any of these people derived their magic from the Romans. On the contrary, they had their own religious and magic customs long before the invasion of their countries by the Romans; they never mingled their customs with those of the Romans; on which subject I refer to Grimm's German Mythology, which gives the most striking evidence of the authenticity of the northern doctrines, and their original relationship to the Germans. The grand accordance of all the northern nations in poetry, religion, and speech, shows that their mythology is genuine; and Grimm, moreover, proves in a double manner that the northern mythology being genuine, consequently that of the German is so too; that the German mythology is old,—consequently, also, the northern.

Pliny and Tacitus both lived in these countries before the

invasion of the Romans; and although they described the magic of these people after the Romans came in, this is certain, that these nations in so short a time had not received the manners and customs of the Romans; that they burned with furious hate against them; that they resisted them for centuries, would not learn their language, were forsworn enemies of the Romans, and were never, especially the Germans, subjected to their yoke by them. We find here, indeed, customs which, from the simplicity of these people, must naturally have descended from them, as we find them everywhere; but Roman and Greek temples of Æsculapius and Apollo we find nowhere; and the names of the gods which Tacitus names amongst the ancient Germans are not German, but are merely according to Roman ideas grafted on German gods, which they worshipped in their groves. But the Germans themselves gave them no Greco-Roman but German names, as Grimm proves,—and who, moreover, corroborates our fundamental doctrines respecting mythology, namely, that the foundation of all Saga is myth: that is, the faith in the gods as it descends from people to people in an infinite declination. Saga and history at their boundaries run into each other, but the universal substratum of all Saga is myth. "While history is produced from the actions of men, Saga floats above them as a light, which glances at intervals, like an odour that emanates from an object. Saga is incessantly reborn; history repeats itself never. The winged Saga now lifts itself aloft, now falls; its enduring settlement is a favour which it does not confer on every nation. Where distant events would have perished in the darkness of time, Saga unites itself to them, and cherishes a portion of them. But when myth and history meet together and become merged, then the epos erects a platform and spins its thread" (Grimm, a. a. O. Introduction).

The chiefs or leaders of the Celts were called Druids, and amongst the Gauls also Semothees. They were judges, priests, physicians, lawgivers, and soothsayers. Pomponius ascribes a higher science—yes, wisdom itself—to the Druids. "These," he says, "profess to understand the size and shape of the earth and the universe, the movements of the heavens and the stars, and all that the gods intend. They

teach the highest class of the people secretly in caves and in remote places. One of their chief doctrines, and which is also known to the common people, is the immortality of the soul."

In later times they appear to have been held in still greater estimation in Britain, and far more so than in Gaul itself. They divided, however, their general office, as nature had taught it them later, into several classes; so that the proper Druids concerned themselves chiefly with the formation of laws, others with inquiries into the knowledge of nature and medicine, and the bards occupied themselves with the art of poetry.

You recognise amongst the Druids the conditions of all primeval people, as they are found in the East amongst the Egyptians, the Israelites, etc. They had combined completely in themselves the whole conduct and rule of the people, as the priest-physicians, and even their customs accorded fully with those of the East; for the Druids communicated their fundamental doctrines and customs only to the initiated, whom they taught in sacred groves and remote places (Cæsar, lib iii. c. 14). In the exercise of the sacred services, the Druids, like the Egyptians and the Pythagoreans, were clad in a white robe (Pliny, xxx.) They healed sickness and diseases by magical practices; and while they professed to have intercourse with the gods, they proclaimed future events; and their wives, the so-called Alruns, Alrauns, were highly celebrated for their vaticinations and enchantments, for their healing of wounded warriors, and assistance of women in travail. In what respect these prophetic women stood, is shown by the fact that even the Emperor Aurelian consulted them (Vopiscus Aurelian. c. 44). They were also acquainted with the means of producing ecstasy; and as one of the most excellent magical means—as one adapted to nearly all possible cases—they used the mistletoe of the oak, which they gathered at certain times and with certain ceremonies. Whilst they dwelt under the oaks, and there performed their public worship, they believed that a plant which grew on their sacred branches must be an especial gift of heaven, —yes, that the mistletoe was the sign of the tree which the gods themselves had selected. On this account, according

to Pliny, they never performed their sacerdotal offices without such a branch of the mistletoe (Plin. lib. xvi. c. 44). "Nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant magos) visco et arbore, in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratius. Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos, nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt." Holy waters and groves present themselves continually amongst the Germans, as the Bodensee, or Wodansee, the Odenwald, or Odinswald; and they perform their sacred sacrifices under sacred trees; and there their inspired bards prophesied. To these trees a magical power was not unjustly attributed, as many kinds (laurel, elder, etc.) possess the peculiar virtue of producing sleep and promoting prophetic dreams; and these woods had their strength increased by being magnetised by them.

They ascribed also a most pre-eminent activity to the moon. The conspicuous changes of the moon, and the evident increasing and decreasing moods of activity in plants and animals, and which was very striking to them in men, had taught them, as it had all other people of nature, many things. It may be asked whether the many cures by sympathy, yet common amongst the people of various classes in Germany, have not descended from the Druids? For the rest, it is remarkable that in France the practice of medicine continued the longest in connection with the priesthood; and various hospitals were under the management of the priests, who were at the same time physicians. This is still the case in some instances.

I find a very remarkable relation in Pomponius (De situ orbis, lib. iii. c. 6) concerning the priestesses of the island of Sark in the British sea. "This island," he says, "was much celebrated on account of the oracle of the Gallic god. The conductors of it were nine Gallic priestesses, who had made the vow of chastity. They were considered to be endowed with peculiar powers; namely, that by their singing they could excite the wind and the sea, and change themselves into the forms of any beasts that they pleased; that they healed sicknesses which no others could cure; and that they knew and foretold the future. But they were only well-disposed to sea-faring people, and to them only so far as they were disposed to consult them." Of the Druids in England and Gaul, Pliny says (xxx. 1), that they vati-

cinated and cured diseases:—"Galleos utique possedit et quidem ad nostram memoriam. Nam Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum et hoc genus vatum medicarumque. Britannia hodieque attonite eam celebrat tantis cæremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit."

What is here said of the Druids, applies also, more or less, to the ancient Germans. Truly many of the most striking circumstances connected with them are lost to us in oblivion, so that we are only made acquainted with a few of their phenomena which resemble magnetism, and are not informed of their particular practices and modes of proceeding. From the German gods, the Sun, the Moon, Wodan—Woutan—Donar, etc., the days of the week have received their names; and Grimm traces minutely the connection between the priesthood and the prophetic woman—Dis, Deis, Aurinia, Aliruna, etc. The priests were the guardians of the sacred grove, Godi; and, besides, the priesthood held at the same time the office of judges; and in martial expeditions the maintenance of discipline even belonged to them, and not to the generals. The chariot of the god was only touched by the priests; their approach was perceived by him. As to what concerns their secret ceremonies, these were probably so strictly guarded that they were witnessed by no stranger.

The prophetic women of the Germans stood in the same relation to them as the Sibyls to the Romans, whose counsels were followed as sacred, and their responses relied on as incapable of deceiving (Tacitus de morib. Germ. c. viii., editio Ernesti). "Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant; nec aut concilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt." Tacitus speaks especially of one of them called Veleda. They were known also under the names of Alrunes, Alurines, Alioruns, which is not to be considered as a proper name, but as a general one, appertaining to all the prophetic women. Alraun is a necromantic spirit; *raunen* means still to speak secretly,—"runian susurrare."

Of this Veleda of the Germans, Tacitus writes, that "she exercises a great authority; for women have been held here from the most ancient times to be prophetic, and, by excessive superstition, as divine. The fame of Veleda stood

on the very highest elevation, for she foretold to the Germans a prosperous issue, but to the legions their destruction. (Tacit. hist. iv. 61.) 'Ea virgo—Veleda—late imperitabat: vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque fœminarum fatidicas, et, augescente superstitione, arbitrantur Deas. Veledæ auctoritas adolevit. Nam prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum prædixerat' (65). As the people of Cologne concluded an alliance with the Tenctari, they announced,—'Arbitrium habebimus Civilem et Veledam, apud quos pactum sancientur. Sic lenitis Tencteris legati ad Civilem et Veledam missi cum donis, cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere. Sed coram adire, alloquique Veledam negatum, arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset.' He relates further that the Romans themselves sent ambassadors with presents to Veleda. But she was not to be approached or spoken to; she was rarely visible, and thus her honour was increased. She herself lived upon a tower, from whence, like a message from the gods, her counsels and responses were brought down."

Grimm, in the twelfth chapter of the "German Mythology," treats of the wise, prophetic women. "The business and function of the demi-goddesses is in general that they serve the gods, and reveal their will to men. It is a striking feature of our heathenism, that women were selected for this office. The Jewish and Christian nations present a contrast to this,—prophets prophesy, angels and saints proclaim the commands of God. The Grecian gods avail themselves of male and female messengers. Amongst the Germans the sentences of fate in the mouth of women appear to acquire greater sanctity. Only as exceptions do prophetic men present themselves. Hence it may be, perhaps, that language allegorises crimes and virtues as women. The great function is that of bringing to mortal men the announcement of good or evil, conquest or death, not what the gods do amongst themselves. Their wisdom explores, nay, they turn and order events in fate, warn from dangers, counsel in doubt, and, therefore, they are styled knowing and wise women." The Dis, Alrunes, Nornor, Fays, Valkyrior, of these it is said that they pass through air and water; the gift of swimming and flying is peculiar

to them; they can assume the shape of a swan, and therefore the Swan-maiden, Bertha, was called the Swan-footed queen.

From these few particulars we draw some remarkable facts. In the first place, Veleda dwelt upon a tower, of the interior of which we, alas! know nothing; but it is important that she allowed no one to approach her, nor herself to be disturbed in her magical contemplations. In the second place, she was in high estimation on account of her oracular announcements, since they brought her such rich presents. This the Germans, who once sent to her on the Lippe a three-ruddered admiral ship, did not alone do (Tacit. histor. v. 22), but even the Romans as enemies; for Tacitus says expressly that the Romans sent to her presents by ambassadors; and Cerealis forwarded secret messengers, and implored Veleda and her associates to allow the Romans, who had suffered so many defeats, to enjoy a change of martial fortune. Also in the time of Vespasian Veleda was still honoured like a goddess (Tacitus de moribus Germanorum, c. 8). After Veleda, a virgin, called Ganna, was honoured as a prophetess.

The Cimbrians when they took the field were accompanied by aged prophetic women, who were clad in white, had bare feet, and wore an iron girdle. The blood of the slain was brought in a sacrificial kettle, from which they divined. The kettle reminds us of the later witch-kettle, when a he-goat was offered to the old German god of thunder, Donar. Before this goat the people bowed themselves,—whence the later adoration of the goat by witches, as the devil in that shape. The Prussians, indeed, retained the religion of the goat till the fifteenth century, and offered to Peron, the god of thunder, the sacrifice of goats. The god of the Sclaves, Triglau, is represented with two goat's heads. The Germans offered horses, like the Persians, and Odin had two wolves and two ravens as constant attendants. They were later the hell-wolf and the hell-raven, as Donar's goat became the hell-goat, in which we see, what is worthy of remark, the two-fold nature of the divination of the ancient Germans; the one of pure magic, as in the case of Veleda, and the other wild and impure, that of Cimbrian blood-offering priestesses.

They believed, too, that they could divine by lot: but this was a very simple proceeding. They cut a branch from a fruit-bearing tree into many small pieces, and scattered them marked with certain signs on a white cloth. According as the inquiry was a public or a private one, the priest or the father of the family took up the different pieces amid prayers and arranged them according to the different indications. They had, however, many other modes of divination, amongst which perhaps the most remarkable was, that by the rushing and the whirling of waters they fell into ecstasy and divined. By these modes the eyes, the ears, and the nerves were, in a mysterious manner, moved, agitated, and determined, so that one is reminded of the enchanted Nereids, Nymphs, and Nixes. These, were, perhaps, only a certain means of curing ailments of the nerves, and particularly to put people prone to sleep-waking into a better condition, a supposition which certain experiences actually corroborate.

The practice of magic spread itself later amongst the common people, who were, to some extent, also acquainted with Christianity. The heathen did not lay aside their ancient customs and opinions so easily as their clothes, and the religious zeal of the priests was not able to put down the prevailing practice of sorcery. "Heathenism and Christianity, after they came in conflict,—that is, after the conversion of pagans,—exercised a mutual influence on each other: Christianity while it sought to eradicate the ideas of paganism, and paganism while it sought to conceal itself under Christian forms. The conquering faith went forth to annihilate the conquered one; the conquered endeavoured, as it were, to secure its devastated possession in the midst of the enemy; here were pagan maxims planted in their purity; there they stole in, little shaken at heart, under Christian names. Certain Christian myths—those, at the same time, of the Old Testament—mingled themselves with the ecclesiastical legends of the middle ages, especially amongst the people. Thus elves and giants were converted into devils, and women of the night into witches. Woutan also degenerated into a terrible hunter; Halda and Bertha into bugbears for children. The ravens of Woutan belong to the devil, but the actions of giants are conferred on the saints" (Grimm).

At a later period political power stepped into the arena, and placed itself in direct hostility to all magic. The East and West Goths issued very severe laws, which are known by the name of the Salic. A woman suspected of magic was committed to the flames as a sorceress and witch. This first happened in the sixteenth century, in the reign of Childerich I., in which two women accused of witchcraft were burnt alive (Cantz, De cultibus magicis, i. c. 3). Thereupon quickly followed ordinances and commands of terror from councils and kings against witches and magicians, from which it appears that the women of that time were most addicted to magic arts.

A number of persons by no means inconsiderable, especially women, suffering from attacks of cramp, who were directly believed to be possessed by or influenced by the devil, with whom they were said to have made a pact, were very early made deplorable sacrifices to the blind zeal of religion. We shall have occasion to become more nearly acquainted with the subject of witchcraft; in the meantime it may be here remarked that the Salic laws speak of magic knots and bandages—ligatures, of which the Greeks, and still more the Latin poets, sang; and they mention also formulas of sorcery, and nocturnal assemblies, in which the accused are said to have celebrated their demoniac feasts. These severe prohibitions did not avail much; they only stimulated to secret leagues, from which, finally, actual and terrible mischiefs arose, so that it became absolutely necessary to put an end to them. But unfortunately very little discrimination was made between innocent sufferers from attacks of cramps, or convulsions, or affections of the mind, and between avowed witches and wizards. Accordingly, in the time of Charlemagne, in 914, a great number were burnt, and the practice continued for centuries.

In the eighth century the Spaniards were invaded by the Saracens, who brought with them Arabian learning to Europe, which cast a new light on this continent. There had prevailed amongst the Arabs for a long period the Pythagorean, Platonic, eclectic, and Aristotelian philosophers. There were professedly disciples rather of Aristotle than of Pythagoras and Plato; yet there really prevailed much more of the spirit of the latter. The mystical philosophy of

Thophail, of Avicenna, Avempan, Avicebran, etc., received additions from the literature of wonders, and these were openly taught at Salamanca and Toledo (Tiedemann, c. i. p. 98). This public display of magic, it is true, was resisted by some, and a cave was discovered in which the magical exhibitions were made. It appears to have been clearly the case that the Arabs were zealously addicted to magic; and they have defended it with great enthusiasm, and in an eclectic manner, in many of their writings. It would appear never to have been in evil repute amongst them, and there are no laws extant by which they ever sought to oppose it.

In the eleventh century the Arabic learning came into France, England, and Germany, and many persons travelled to Spain in order to make themselves acquainted with it. To this the reading of the books of the church greatly contributed, over the doctrines of which the spirit of critical inquiry began to throw some doubts which required a philosophy to solve. For this purpose they brought the most eminent Arabian books home with them, and thus magic acquired a higher reputation and received a philosophical dress, which, however, was now bedizened with all sorts of tawdry colours and finery There now arose philosophical writers who drew all eyes upon them. Philosophy lifted up its head, and was now openly taught by Raymond Lully, Alexander von Hales, and their disciples: Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and others. All these men were well acquainted with the Arabic writings, and magic now received a host of defenders, who often understood how, with the noblest views, to separate the truth from fable, lies, and deceit. It would be easy for us to produce from the writings of these authors much that is beautiful and instructive, for they contemplated the subject with a true spirit of philosophical inquiry. Such are the writings of Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Thomas Aquinas, and others,—productions of eminent value. Albertus confesses openly that he had made magical experiments (Albert. Magn. Op. t. iii. de an. p. 23, Lugdun. 1651); and in his natural philosophy and descriptions of nature he frequently speaks of sympathy, antipathy, influence of stars, and other magic things. Pomponaz (De naturalium effect. admirandorum causis seu de incant. liber,

auctore P. Pomponace, Basel, 1517). "All wonders," he says, "that people ascribe to the devil, are either deceit or they are natural. There are men who through the power of their will can produce most marvellous phenomena and cures. But in order to effect these perfectly you must have faith and love, and a fervent desire to help the sick; and for this every one is not qualified. The sick, too, must have faith." He says that children are more susceptible of the magic influence than adults. In the meantime he counsels his reader to keep the matter secret.

At the same time came in practice the wearing of amulets and the names of saints, through which people believed themselves to be defended from the most grievous sickness, and made capable of healing them, by remedies which had been discovered in the books of the most ancient physicians and Arabs. On these people laid a Christian importance, which gave rise to the most confused and superstitious formulas, to which the most powerful philosophical thinkers were no longer able to set bounds. A couple of such healing formulas of the clearer and better sort are the following:—

"Caspar brings myrrh; Melchior incense; Balthasar gold. Whoever carries these three names about with him, will, through Christ, be free from the falling sickness" (Tiedemann, p. 102). Here is a second. The epileptic patient is taken by the hand, and the operator whispers softly in his ear:—"I abjure thee by the sun and the moon and the gospel of to-day, etc. that thou arisest and no more fallest to the ground; in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Issues of blood are to be stopped in the same manner. We see here a magical mode of operation; for that holding of the hand, and the gently speaking in the ear, by which the brain is breathed upon, are very powerful modes of manipulation. To this is added the spiritual effect of addressing the expectant and excited mind with such powerful and holy words.

The magic of that time may be divided into three parts. The first is based on sorcery, and makes a pact with the devil. The second practises with the stellar influences, with sympathy and antipathy. It depends much on the effect of different words, and on other magical customs. A third

kind has been classed with magic, but is rather to be regarded as a mystic magic, whose votaries have sought to annihilate sensuality by piety and purification of the heart in supernatural contemplations; yea, have even sought to arrive at God by them. The first kind has nothing to do with the two latter. The third was, for the most part, united with the second, but they who belonged to the third generally despised the second.

What rank the magic of those times acquired may be conceived from the fact, that not merely secret doctors and the common people, but even kings and emperors, were addicted to it. The Emperor Frederick II., in the thirteenth century, is said to have used magic arts; and Rudolph II. and Charles V. are said to have been much devoted to such studies. Maximilian I. and the Grand Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I., had even Johannes Trithemius as teacher of astrology, who was the most zealous defender of magic (Cantz, De cult. mag. i. 4; Tiedemann, p. 110; Möhsen's History of Science, in the Brandenburg Mark.) In France, Catherine de Medici was extremely addicted to magic.

Passavant, in his Inquiries into the Magnetism of Life and of Clairvoyance, has collected many facts respecting the magic of the northern nations, of which we will here avail ourselves briefly. At page 305 of the second edition it is said:—

"The German and Sclave original races, like the primeval Saga of all peoples which are wrapped in the mists of time, speak of seers and seeresses, whose magical powers were at the command of the public. The prophecies in the Edda are similar to those of many eastern seers of the primeval ages. Odin himself travels to the ancient Vala, the prophetess of the farthermost north. Vala is the guardian spirit of the earth, the earliest of all prophetesses. The oldest portion of the Edda is called from her Voluspa,—the vision of Vala. Aroused by Odin's magic song from the long death-sleep, she prophesies, on the grave of the Huns, the destruction of the world. Before the end of time and the twilight of the gods, will Loke, the wicked one, be set free from his bonds, will go forth with the giants of fire to the conflict with the gods, and all the children of ancient Night will arise to destroy the kingdom of light.

But when the reign of the gods is over, then will Allfather in a new morning create gods and men anew out of the fulness of his glory."

After Passavant has noticed the second-sight of the Scotch, according to Boethius's History of Scotland, and the prophetic vision in Macbeth, which Shakspere has employed as a real fact of history, which became literally fulfilled, he continues:—"Amongst the Finns and Laplanders magic practices have mingled themselves strangely with a variety of heathenish superstitions; and long after their conversion to Christianity, contrary to the strictest prohibitions, magical dealings have been continued almost to the present time. The small number of clergymen, the confined extent of their influence in a wide and thinly-peopled country; the wild, desolate scenery, the frosty sky, the solitude, the hunter-life, the deep roots of ancient usage, all these things contribute to perpetuate those tenacious remains of heathenism. Sturleson, Saxo, J. Zeigler, Olaus Magnus, P. Claudi, Tornäus, Joh. Scheffer, professor in Upsala, all relate many things of this sorcery, accepting with easy credence much that is false; superstitiously misunderstanding other things; and, for the rest, giving us many well-attested and remarkable facts.

The knowledge of magic was formerly in the far north the subject of regular instruction, and the highest nobility sent their sons and daughters to the most celebrated professors of the art. Their wisdom is recorded in the Runes, the primeval northern Sanscrit. A more confined tradition springs up after the extinction of primal and more magnificent traditions handed down from father to children, and thence may have arisen the legends of house and family-spirits, like the Lares and Penates of Latium, which are inherited from age to age.

Some sought with zeal and arduous endeavour to acquire the prophetic faculty; others found it unsought and in their infancy. It is worthy of note, what Tornäus says, who regards the seer-faculty, which formerly was so much in esteem, as the work of the devil:—"Some possess the magic gift from nature, which is horrible. For those whom the devil perceives will be obedient servants and work-tools, he seizes on in childhood with sickness, presenting to them in a state of

unconsciousness many imaginations and visions, from which, according to the capacity of their age, they learn what belongs to black art. Those who a second time are attacked with this ailment see yet more numerous visions, from which they learn yet more. If they fall a third time into this condition, they are so violently affected by it, that they are in danger of death, but at the same time all the visions of the devil and his wonders are revealed to them, so that they attain to the perfect knowledge of the art of sorcery. And these are instructed in it to that degree, that they can see far distant things with the ordinary instruments of enchantment; nay, must probably see them, whether they will or no, so wholly are they possessed by the devil."

Immediately afterwards he relates that a Laplander whom he had often and severely reproved for his magic kettle-drum, gave it up freely of himself, confessing sorrowfully, that without the aid of that he saw everything that passed in distant places; adding, that he did not know what was come to his eyes; and hereupon he related everything which had happened to him (Tornäus) on his journey to Lapland.

Their most valuable instrument of enchantment is this sorcerers' kettle-drum, which they call Kannas or Quobdas. They cut it in one entire piece out of a thick tree stem, the fibres of which run upwards in the same direction as the course of the sun. The drum is covered with the skin of an animal; and in the bottom holes are cut by which it may be held. Upon the skin are many figures painted; often Christ and the Apostles, with the heathen gods, Thor, Noorjunkar, and others jumbled together; the picture of the sun, shapes of animals, lands and waters, cities and roads, in short, all kinds of drawings according to their various uses. Upon the drum there is placed an indicator, which they call Arpa, which consists of a bundle of metallic rings. The drumstick is, generally, a reindeer's horn. This drum they preserve with the most vigilant care, and guard it especially from the touch of a woman. When they will make known what is taking place at a distance,—as to how the chase shall succeed, how business will answer, what result a sickness will have, what is necessary for the cure of it, and the like, they kneel down, and the sorcerer beats the drum; at first with light strokes, but as he proceeds, with ever louder and

stronger ones, round the index, either till this has moved in a direction or to a figure which he regards as the answer which he has sought, or till he himself falls into ecstasy, when he generally lays the kettle-drum on his head. Then he sings with a loud voice a song which they call Jogke; and the men and women who stand round sing songs, which they call Daura, in which the name of the place whence they desire information frequently occurs. The sorcerer lies in the ecstatic state for some time,—frequently for many hours apparently dead, with rigid features; sometimes with perspiration bursting out upon him. In the meantime the bystanders continue their incantations, which have for their object that the sleeper shall not lose any part of his vision from memory; at the same time they guard him carefully that nothing living may touch him—not even a fly. When he again awakes to consciousness, he relates his vision, answers the questions put to him, and gives unmistakeable evidence of having seen distant and unknown things. The inquiry of the oracle does not always take place so solemnly and completely. In every-day matters, as regards the chase, etc., the Lapp consults his drum without falling into the somnambulic crisis. On the other hand, a more highly developed state of the prophetic vision may take place without this instrument, as has been already stated. Claudi relates, that at Bergen in Norway the clerk of a German merchant demanded of a Norwegian Finn-Laplander what his master was doing in Germany. The Finn promised to give him the intelligence. He began then to cry out like a drunken man, and to run round in a circle, till he fell, as one dead, to the earth. After a while he awoke again, and gave the answer, which time showed to have been perfectly correct. Finally, that many, while wholly awake, free from convulsions and a state of unconsciousness, are able to become clairvoyant, is placed beyond all doubt by the account of Tornäus.

The use which they make of their power of clairvoyance, and their magic arts, is, for the most part, good and innocent: that of curing sick men and animals; inquiring into far off and future things, which in the confined sphere of their existence is important to them. There are instances, however, in which the magic art is turned to the injury of

others; and the above-mentioned writers relate many instances of this kind, but which appear too fabulous to be noted here. Others reject these atrocities, and will not permit their divination to be affected with this misuse; an act of justice which is not reciprocated by the reporters of these facts, who ascribe all the wonders of magic, without exception, to the devil, as they do all modern instances to imagination.

This mode of consulting the oracle still prevails on the north-east coast of Russia amongst its pagan inhabitants, except that it is there a particular class of priests, called Schamans, who exercise the office of seers. These Schamans, who are consulted by the people concerning thefts, sicknesses, and the meaning of dreams, put on a particular official dress, beat the magic drum, invoke their demons, fall into the state of phrenzy, convulsion, and fainting, and then deliver the oracular message. The Schamans attain a high rank and influence throughout North-eastern Siberia; but they nowhere acquire such a power as amongst the Tschuktschen, where they enjoy a wholly unconditional and blind confidence, and employ this sometimes in a thoroughly fearful manner. There are found amongst them different forms of magic and trance, as in past time was common throughout heathendom; but that original power of prophetic vision is possessed by them only in its deepest form, resembling a madness, a wild inspiration, when called forth by intoxicating and stupifying means, and in connection with a bloody superstition, under the influence of which the excited Schamans demanded, not long ago, human sacrifices for the reconcilement of the gods.

These incantations may throw some light on those dark phenomena of witches and sorcery in the middle ages, which are to be regarded as the remains of heathen worship and heathen magic, and which have retained their hold longest in the northern nations, and of which the second-sight and the so-called Taigheirm are also fragments. We may give an idea of this from Horst's Deuteroscopy.

According to Grimm, the Edda contains a mysterious and profound myth of the three goddesses of fate. They are called Nornor collectively, but their individual names are Urdhr, Verdhandi, and Sculd; or, the Past, the Present,

and the Future.. These three maidens determine the length of every man's life. According to the Edda, there are good and bad fates; and besides those chief three there are many others. Some Nornor descend from the gods, others from the elves, and others from the dwarfs. "As the Nornor are related to Orlög, so is *parca* to *fatum*," says Grimm; "whence the Italian *fata*, the French *fée*, the German *fein*." These Fees were originally named from their announcement of fates, but were soon afterwards regarded as a kind of spirit-women. There are many legends of the fairies of romance which accord wholly with the popular belief of the Germans; whence the stories of the wise women.

The desire to learn the future, and to enter into communication with supernatural powers, is so deeply implanted in the human race, that Cicero might truly say:—"Gentem quidam nullam video, neque tam humanam atque doctam, neque tam immanem, tamque barbaram, quæ non significari futura et a quibusdam intelligi prædicique posse censeat." But the passion is equally inherent in human nature, to burst all impediments to freedom, and to soar above the constraints of the present state; and even at all hazard, when it is not to be accomplished by mild means, to take the devils by assault. This passion, when it is once awakened, in rude nations and the ignorant people, is all the more reckless and impetuous, because neither the light of religion illumes it, nor has her gentle warmth modified its tone. The idea of securing a long life, wealth and honour, inflames the imagination, and rushes like a lawless element in wild Mantic excitement over sacrifices of men and animals, and through hell itself, towards heaven. It is known how heathendom, especially in certain transition periods, and during the decline of the hereditary natural spirit, brooding over chimeras in a rabid Manticism, as it were inverts nature itself, abuses the innocent animal world with horrible activity, and treads everything human under foot. He who who would see more particular proofs of this may consult many ancient authors on matters of witchcraft, and especially in Peucer's great work, "De Divinatione," and in Albertus Magnus.

Such practices of sorcery have been inherited from the northern heathen by the Icelanders, the Laplanders, and

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the highlanders of Scotland, who endeavour to obtain from hell imaginary good by force; to possess themselves, by their own power and arbitrary will, of the gift of second-sight; and to this end they used means not only absurd and ridiculous, but frequently the most terrific species of infernal magic. For where men know not God, or have turned away from him into wickedness, they address themselves devoutly to the kingdom of demons, and call forth the powers of darkness, to enable them to enjoy the pleasures of unrestrained imagination, and of reckless enthusiasm, careless of the great future, and of the final destiny of the soul. Such was the state of things from the commencement of Christianity to the end of the middle ages—from the Scottish Taigheirm to the Witch-hammer,—the former of which we shall notice first.

The Taigheirm was an infernal magical sacrifice of cats, the origin of which lies in the remotest pagan times, and in rites dedicated to the subterranean gods, from whom men solicited, by nocturnal offerings, particular gifts and benefits. Through Christianity these sacrifices were modified; and instead of being made to the subterranean powers, they were now made to the infernal ones; or, as they were called in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, the Black-Cat Spirits. Whence these sacrifices came to the Western Isles is not known, but most probably it was from the farthest north, as the Western Isles were peopled from Iceland, Norway, and the Faroe Isles, and were dependent on and connected with those countries till the later Christian ages. In those remote northern lands, as in Greenland, according to the Danish and Swedish learned men and missionaries, as well as according to the Icelanders, there still prevails a faith in sorcerers, exorcists, and communers with spirits; wherein we easily perceive the alliance to the old heathen world, and to a system of demons and magic constituted wholly in their spirit. Horst, in his "Deuteroscopy," treats of the national manners, customs, and opinions of the Highlanders and Western Islanders, with some remarks on their history and climate, from which it appears that those countries in the ancient times, before the earth was enriched by culture, and nature made fruitful and agreeable, as it were, in her own despite,

were well adapted by their melancholy aspect, covered as they were by eternal fogs, exposed to savage and incessant storms, to oppress the minds of men, and by the absence of external amenities so to operate on the imagination, that the inner visions and conceptions retained a peculiarly gloomy and yet grotesque colouring. For, according to Howell, "there is to be seen in many places neither a bird in the air nor a beast on the earth, nor even a worm crawling on the ground; scarcely a green blade of grass, but merely a black, moss-covered surface; a raw, sharp, melancholy, and catarrh-producing atmosphere, and chains of rugged and wild mountains and precipices." Thus, those countries have been, as it were, the natural home of the second-sight from the most ancient times. Cæsar and Plutarch speak of these islands as desolate, melancholy solitudes, where visions and ghostly apparitions are things familiar to the unfortunate inhabitants, who passed their sombre days in constant terror and apprehension. Plutarch mentions in particular the British, or rather the islands lying beyond Britain. There lay that unknown region of fable and myth, that mysterious Thule, sung of by Goethe, which the ancients regarded as the extremest boundary of the earth towards the north. These lands were always regarded as notorious for their spectral visions. Eusebius, too (De Preparat. Evangel. lib. v. c. 9), says, that "beyond Britannia lie many islands, of which several are filled with demons and evil spirits, who occasioned thunder, storms, torrents of rain, etc., and puzzled both the inhabitants and visitors with such delusive scenes as to bring them into confusion and anguish, and to injure them both soul and body"

Many centuries afterwards, the Venerable Bede, in his History of the English Church, corroborated these and similar statements. He relates, for instance, that down to the eighth century the island of Lewis, one of the largest Western Isles, continued almost wholly destitute of men, fruits, trees, and herbs, and that it was the favourite rendezvous and place of assembly of evil spirits and malicious apparitions, who there practised their devilish ceremonies. It was not till the pious Cudbrecht landed upon the island, in order to drive thence the devil and his agents, and to cultivate the land, that the demons, after a severe conflict,

began gradually to withdraw. But though these islands were their favourite resort, yet they at the same time scattered themselves throughout the other islands in that quarter, and even took fair possession of the mainland. "Thus we see here," says Horst, "the whole of the British islands, yes, and also the Highlands of Scotland, overrun with demons, who were like the legions of base spirits whom Soloman inclosed in a kettle, and sunk at Babylon, but which, on the kettle being opened in quest of treasure, streamed up into the air, spread themselves over the whole heavens, and thence over all Asia."

According to the old theories of spirits, departed souls and condemned spirits were sent to those islands, where they continued to the seventeenth century. These were vexing and complaining ghosts, which appeared to men, sometimes in the human form, and sometimes in that of beasts, and in every horrid mask that can be imagined. The Faroe Isles, also, were haunted by such malevolent spirits, which are said to have carried off men. In later times they became gradually less dangerous; and the spirit-races of all kinds and colours,—fairies, trolls in Scandinavia, wraiths in England and Scotland, became, on the introduction of Christianity, by degrees more social, even on those remote and desolate islands, where, according to Isaiah (xiii. 21), "doleful creatures and owls dwell, and satyrs dance." This modification is agreeable to the doctrine of second-sight, which still is said to prevail there.

According to Horst's Deuteroscopy, black cats were indispensable to the incantation ceremony of the Taigheirm, and these were dedicated to the subterranean gods, or, later, to the demons of Christianity. The midnight hour, between Friday and Saturday, was the authentic time for these horrible practices and invocations; and the sacrifice was continued four whole days and nights, without the operator taking any nourishment. "After the cats were dedicated to all the devils, and put into a magico-sympathetic condition by the shameful things done to them, and the agony occasioned them, one of them was at once put upon the spit, and, amid terrific howlings, roasted before a slow fire. The moment that the howls of one tortured cat ceased in death, nother was put upon the spit, for a minute of interval

must not take place if they would control hell; and this continued for the four entire days and nights. If the exorcist could hold it out still longer, and even till his physical powers were absolutely exhausted, he must do so."

After a certain continuance of the sacrifice, infernal spirits appeared in the shape of black cats. There came continually more and more of these cats; and their howlings, mingled with those of the cats roasting on the spit, were terrific. Finally appeared a cat of a monstrous size, with dreadful menaces. When the Taigheirm was complete, the sacrificer demanded of the spirits the reward of his offering, which consisted of various things; as riches, children, food, and clothing. The gift of second-sight, which they had not had before, was, however, the usual recompense; and they retained it to the day of their death. The connection of these ceremonies with those of the Schamans of Northern Asia, and of the witch practices of the middle ages, is obvious.

One of the last Taigheirm, according to Horst, was held in the middle of the seventeenth century on the island of Mull. The inhabitants still show the place where Allan Maclean, at that time the incantation and sacrificial priest, stood with his assistant, Lachlain Maclean, both men of a determined and unbending character, of a powerful build of body, and both unmarried. Traces and monuments of heathen sacrifice, especially in England and Scotland, are discoverable within the Christian period. Thus, there were found, on the rebuilding of St. Paul's in London, the remains of many animals which had been offered to Diana in external sacrifices. Nay, there remained relics of such worship down to the period of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. Apollo also was worshipped during the earlier period of Christianity, at Thorney, near Westminster. That Diana was worshipped in Britain we know too from records of offerings to her of a most cruel nature, made during the persecutions of the people of London by Diocletian. (See Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.)

The offering of cats is remarkable, for it was also practised by the ancient Egyptians. Not only in Scotland, but throughout all Europe, cats were sacrificed to the subter-

ranean gods, as a peculiarly effective means of coming into communication with the powers of darkness.

Allan Maclean continued his sacrifice to the fourth day, when he was exhausted both in body and mind, and sunk in a swoon; but from this day he received the second-sight to the time of his death, like his assistant. In the people, the belief was unshaken that the second-sight was the natural consequence of celebrating the Taigheirm.

"The infernal spirits appeared, some in the early progress of the sacrifices, in the shape of black cats. The first who appeared during the sacrifice, after they had cast a furious glance at the sacrificer, said—Lachlain Oer, that is, "Injurer of Cats." Allan, the chief operator, warned Lachlain, whatever he might see or hear, not to waver, but to keep the spit incessantly turning. At length the cat of monstrous size appeared; and after it had set up a horrible howl, said to Lachlain Oer, that if he did not cease before their largest brother came he would never see the face of God. Lachlain answered that he would not cease till he had finished his work if all the devils in hell came. At the end of the fourth day, there sat on the end of the beam in the roof of the barn a black cat with fire-flaming eyes, and there was heard a terrific howl quite across the straits of Mull into Morven." Allan was wholly exhausted on the fourth day, from the horrible apparitions, and could only utter the word "Prosperity." But Lachlain, though the younger, was stronger of spirit, and perfectly self-possessed. He demanded posterity and wealth. And each of them received that which he had asked for. When Allan lay on his death-bed, and his Christian friends pressed around him, and bade him beware of the stratagems of the devil, he replied with great courage, that if Lachlain Oer, who was already dead, and he, had been able a little longer to have carried their weapons, they would have driven Satan himself from his throne, and, at all events, would have caught the best birds in his kingdom.

When the funeral of Allan reached the churchyard, the persons endowed with the second-sight saw at some distance Lachlain Oer, standing fully armed at the head of a host of black cats, and every one could perceive the smell of brim-

stone which streamed from those cats. Allan's effigy, in complete armour, is carved on his tomb, and his name is yet linked with the memory of the Taigheirm.

Shortly before that time also Cameron of Lochiel performed a Taigheirm, and received from the infernal spirits a small silver shoe, which was to be put on the left foot of each new-born son of his family, and from which he would receive courage and fortitude in the presence of his enemies; a custom which continued till 1746, when his house was consumed with fire. This shoe fitted all the boys of his family but one, who fled before the enemy at Sheriff Muir, he having inherited a larger foot from his mother, who was of another clan. This story is more fully related in the Abendzeitung of April 1824.

The word Taigheirm means an armoury, as well as the cry of cats, according as it is pronounced. It is also very probable that the Taigheirm is closely connected wth the ceremony of incantation of the old Norse and Teutonic, Troll and Elfin faith; while, as already observed, the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland were peopled from the north, where the invocations of the heathen demons, the belief in the pagan gods and sorcery, and the seeing of spirits, continued down to very recent times. Thus the Taigheirm was probably a sacrifice to the subterranean gods in heathenism, and under Christianity was changed into an invocation of infernal spirits. The belief in Trolls, who appeared allied to the imaginative creatures of the Taigheirm, and continue still to affect the minds of the common people, prevailed in Scandinavia before the Christian era. The fairy-faith of Scotland coincides, in many particulars, with that of the Scandinavian elves. The elves of the Scottish Highlands, according to Cromek, wore always small, ornamental silver shoes. They have a fair complexion, and long, yellow hair hanging down over their shoulders; a clear mark of their northern origin., They wear a green mantle embroidered with flowers, and breeches fastened with silken tassels. They have quivers of adder-skins; bows made from the rib of a man who has been buried where the lands of three proprietors meet. Their arrows are of the reed, pointed with flints, and dipped in the juice of hemlock. With these they shoot the

cattle of those who have spoken ill of them, the wounds being invisible to ordinary eyes, and which people of higher endowments only can perceive and heal. In their intercourse with men they are generally well disposed.

The Trolls of Scandinavia also make presents, to certain individuals, of silver shoes, such as they wear at their dances, to the possession of which some particular benefit is attached. In these coincidences the Scottish and Scandinavian Elves and Trolls remind us of the witch-histories of the middle ages, though with these prevailed a far wilder romance, more resembling the Taigheirm. There are wanting the fine silver shoes; and in the wholly detestable Witch-hammer, says Horst, from which Germany, both Protestant and Catholic, as well as all Europe, with the exception of England, was instructed in the mysteries of witch practices, there is not a single feature of the romance which these silver shoes recall to our recollection. There stand nakedly all the infernal gifts from a coarse mint, so many copper pieces or local florins, and if Satan has been very well pleased, and has given splendid honoraria, gold florins and ancient dollars, which within a short time turn into so much dirt, or, as St. Francis esthetically expressed himself in his time, into horse litter.

The northern mythology is the work of Scalds,—that is, of old northern poets. The religion of the heathen everywhere originated in poetry; so was it here, and here truly, cosmogony was the foundation of religion, the grotesque features of which, and the wild fantasy of the poetic constructors, showing whence it sprung. The physical allegories, also, here testify the genuine, original observation which preceded mythology. You see in the northern poetry of nature the arising of the world out of the chaotic region of mist—Niflhem, out of the deadness of winter—the giant Ymer, and advancing into the life of spring. There, too, as amongst the Greeks, are the powers of nature symbolized in gigantic shapes: the giants of darkness—Narsi, whose daughter, Night, black and gloomy, has a son, Andur, by the æther, Nagelfari—then the Earth, and with Dellingar—Twilight—the Day. Sun and Moon—Sool, later Odin, Maan—wind and water, are symbolized as giants, who encamp round the abyss of

Time, and are lords of the heaven, the earth, and the underworld.

O. L. Woff, in his Mythology of Fairies and Elves, treats at large of the classes, kinds, and countries of the northern elves from historical and literary sources. The gods of the north, by Geneday, the writings of Procopius, Jornandes, Stagnelius, Rahbek, Afzelius, Thiele, Nyerup, the Edda, etc. contain the rich materials of ancient Sagas, and the ideas of the people concerning the elves in the northern countries, where still, according to Arndt's assurance, in his "Travels through Sweden," the Alfar—Alfen—elves, live in the memory of the people of Sweden and Norway. In the Eddas the distinction between the white and the black elves is clearly marked, as may be seen in Nierup's Dictionary of the Scandinavian Mythology, and in Sander's Danish Handbook.

"Our heathen ancestors," says Thorlacius, in the Scandinavian Museum for 1803, "believed that the whole world was filled with spirits of different kinds. They ascribed to them in general the same qualities as the Greeks did to their demons and demi-gods. These beings were divided according to their places of abode—heavenly and earthly. The first were well disposed to men, and therefore were called white elves, or light elves; the latter, which were named after their haunts in thick woods, in caves, on mountains and rocks, in the air, or in the sea, etc., were regarded as a species of demons—black elves."

Against the humours of these spirits, which have much resemblance to the devils of the Middle-ages, the country people of the present day seek protection from the so-called Klokas, a sort of exorcists. It is also believed that the elves have kings and queens. The elf-dance is become a proverb. It is said in Olaus Magnus, that the people call the sport of the nocturnal spirits, elf, or elfin-dance, when such spirits dance, leap, and wildly sport, till their footsteps tread down into the earth so deeply and with such heat, that the sward is totally destroyed, and the grass will never more grow there."

The modern poets of Scandinavia have, on the contrary, very intellectually idealised this Elfin-people, or Huldra-

people, as they are called in Norway. Thus sings Stagnelius:—

> "Say, know'st the Elfin-people gay?
> They dwell on the river's strand;
> They spin from the moonbeams their festive garb,
> With their small and lily hand," etc.

Wolf divides the fairy-land of the poets into three kinds. 1st.—Avalon, in the ocean, where is the island of the blest. 2nd. Those countries which, like the palace of Pari-Banon in the Eastern and European poetry, are found under the earth. 3. Those which lie in like abodes of the genii, and the possessions of Oberon, in wildernesses, in thick woods, in valleys and the gorges of mountains, and at the bottom of deep and remote meadows, etc.

The Scandinavian elves, or Maids of Diana, whom Saxo, and yet more amply Olaus Magnus, has described, are very celebrated. They are of beautiful and majestic presence, have flowing hair, and show themselves most in thick woods. Their dwellings are splendid, but are adorned by magic, and, according to the wish of the inhabitants, are now visible and now invisible. They appear chiefly in threes in company; they know the future, and are frequently consulted by the people concerning life and death, and other circumstances. Saxo and Olaus Magnus relate examples of their having done essential services to Swedish kings and queens. Sometimes they present gifts to those who consult them, such as gold-lace, magic weapons, etc.; in that they perfectly remind you of the heathen goddesses sitting on their golden thrones at their residences, or of the Alrunen or the Parses of antiquity. The ideas concerning these fabulous fairies could in the course of time only slowly adapt themselves to the progress of knowledge; the old could not all at once be abandoned, nor the new become suddenly the objects of honour. Thence, therefore, so many traces of a multitude of recollections, one following fast upon another, and constituting the Scandinavian nations the mother of many heathenish traditions.

The dwarfs and Trolls play a great part in the northern popular belief, and, according to Arndt, still maintain their

hold on the minds of the common people. Not only the Scandinavian popular legends and ballads, but the Scotch also describe them as a kind of elementary spirits, and speak of their deeds; and Paracelsus calls them People of the Mines, Gnomens, and Pigmies, a waggish, but contented and not malicious sort of creatures, as Matthisson truly pourtrays them :—

> "From the deep mine rush wildly out
> The troop of Gnomes in hellish rout:
> Forth to the Witches-club they fly;
> The Griffins watch as they go by.
> The horn of Satan grimly sounds;
> On Blocksburg's flanks strange din resounds,
> And spectres crowd its summit high."

Sir Walter Scott believes that there is something historical at the bottom of the belief in these beings, and that they refer to the Finns, who were subjected by the Scandinavians on the arrival of Odin. Perhaps they were Laplanders, who were altogether of small stature, and were driven by those strangers towards the high north. The warrior-companions of Odin saw a people who understood how to work the mines better than they; whom they, therefore, connected in their imagination with subterranean spirits, who remained in the rocks and mines, and possessed incalculable riches. In these respects these Scandinavian pigmies accord entirely with the Idaic Dactyls, and they were probably of Oriental origin; which may explain why so many were affected by this belief in little men of the mines, pigmies, etc.

A third kind of spirits are the Nissen or Kobolds, whom Wolf classes with the Troll family, which may be the case in Scandinavia; but in Germany the Kobolds or Hobgoblin, the flaunting, terrifying, and noisy ghosts, form a particular class, and are of a particular kind, betraying an affinity to the infernal spectres. On the contrary, the Nisses or Necks of Scandinavia are of a thoroughly good disposition, as their names indicate,—that is, in Denmark, Nisse, good son, good youth; and in Sweden, Tomtegubbe, the old man of the house. In ancient days they sometimes served the office of treasurer or master church-builder, whence they

obtained the name of Kirkegrimm. The Scandinavian Necks are not to be confounded with the Scottish familiar spirit, the Brownie, which had the gift of prophesying, and to which, according to Sir Walter Scott, the production of a particular clan in the Highlands or Western Isles was ascribed. Each family also had its own house-spirit. In fact, the Scottish Highlands and Islands are, as it were, the classic ground of the supernatural; where from the primeval times a national and local spirit-world has prevailed; and where men seemed to stand in especial rapport with the supernatural world. Ossian describes his dogs as howling because they saw the spirits of the slain warriors pass by. Here opened up a world of magic and miracle, which has no parallel. National and family spirits took up their abode under well-known names on all hands, in mountains and solitudes, and exerted a decided influence on the inhabitants of the land. Besides those household spirits which Sir Walter Scott describes as belonging to each clan, there were others more magical, who came and disappeared, like the witches of Shakspeare, as bubbles of the earth. Other enigmatical beings awaken prophetic dreams, and lift the curtains of the future; play and sing in the expanse of heaven, so that their songs may be learned by rote. In fact, Scotland was, till the period of the Middle Ages, the land of the beings of fancy of all colours and countries—Scandinavian, Norse, Anglo-saxon, and Teutonic ghosts and spectres, mingled themselves with the Caledonial national spirits; fairies or fays, elves, kobolds, dwarfs, wraiths, reigned nowhere in such a motley crowd as in Scotland and in the Scottish Isles; and amongst no other people did they take such hold on actual life as in this classic spirit-ground, where, as we have seen, all circumstances were of a prominent character. Horst remarks, that amongst no people have pneumatologic representations had such a practical influence on active life as in Scotland. Thus the fairy and the elfin faith, of which the German Hexen-hammer knew nothing, and which, in all the witch-prosecutions throughout Europe, in Spain, Italy, and France, never, or very rarely indeed, were noticed, in Scotland were often linked with the witch-superstition, and, as part and parcel of it, were pursued with fire and sword, and made the subject of criminal inquiries, like sorcery. In the Scottish

witch-trials, the green and waggish fairies and elves often played, more or less, a part, which, according to the German Hexen-hammer, the black and repulsive paramours and demon-associates of the witches played in the rest of Europe."

In a pamphlet published by Dr. Fowler in 1696, it is stated that a certain Anna Jefferies took no nourishment for six months, which she did not receive from a small kind of spirits, called Fairies or Elves. Her intercourse with such elves was by no means uncommon. Anna Jefferies once sate, as she was nineteen years of age, in an arbour in the garden and knit, when six little elves clad in green came over the hedge to her, at which she was so terrified that she fell into convulsions, and was obliged to be carried to bed; whither the elves followed her, and after some time disappeared through a window. They generally appeared as green-clad young huntsmen, or as light musicians, and occasionally they came in warlike array. In the Orkney Isles, according to Brand, elves were frequently seen clad from top to toe in armour; they carried off men by secret powers, and accidents were attributed to them. One John Sinclair, in the preceding century, who was extremely sceptical in his ideas, though a clergyman, was one night going home when he was seized by an elf, and borne through the air many miles, "over ethereal fields and fleecy clouds," and finally set down at his own door; whereupon he astonished his congregation by a full account of his adventure from the pulpit.

We see from this the perfect agreement with the history of the witch trials; only here the convulsive paroxysms are by no means so violent, and the elfin spirits are of a softer and better nature, and less adventurous than those devils of the Middle Ages who actuated the possessed. For the rest, both races agree in their operations, and the Scotch witches of the sixteenth century wholly resemble, in the accounts given on the trials, the German ones of the seventeenth century. The very powers of the spirits, as elves, travelling children, etc., appear also amongst the Germans. A Scotch witch, Allison Pearson, was burnt in 1586, because she had had intercourse with the elves, or Good Neighbours, and with the elfin queen herself.

"When she was ill, a green man appeared to her, as she

herself stated before the tribunal, and promised her good if she were true to him; but she was frightened, and cried out aloud. As no one came, however, she said to him that it might be so. Another time he came as a jolly brother in the company of many men and women, who were all very merry together, with music and good eating and drinking. She had herself once accompanied the elves, and, as she had afterwards divulged something of what she saw, she received a smart blow from one of them, which had left a mole on her left side. A cousin of hers had been carried away by the elves into the mountains, who related all that had passed, and how the elves, or Good Neighbours, had melted their salve in a pan. Her elf was a young man, and would appear to her before the trial was over. He had commanded her to pray that she might not be carried away by the elves."

Of the German elves Grimm says — "Our manifold legends of dwarfs, elves, giants, etc., exceed those of the classical nations. They are more domestic, familiar, and *naïve*. What has antiquity to compare with our charming myth of the Silent People? The legends for children—Kindermärchen—were unknown to them, while to us they make recompense for the want of other more intellectual fictions; and therefore we are disposed somewhat to over-value them. Wichte and Elves constitute a peculiar, independent, and isolated company. They have a superhuman power to injure or assist. They appeared as dwarfs or deformed, but had the power of making themselves invisible. Both the names betoken demons, something like genii. Waifh is a female spirit, With — spirit, demon. Elbe, Alp, Elfenfolk, resemble the devils of the Christian system, as pale, grey, hideous shapes."

The northern people had, as well as the southern, their water, field, and wood-spirits, their Nixes and Mermaids, with which they populated the country and nature on all sides. This kind of spirits also possess the gift of mantic and the act of prescience. Examples of these are to be found in Wolf's "Mythologies of the Faires and Elves;" Sir Walter Scott, on the Highlands; Horst, in his "Memorabilien," 2d Part, and the "Zauberbibliothek," etc.; and concerning the Faroe Isles, especially Debes, "Faeroa reserata," London, 1796; Hippert, "Andeutungen zur Philo-

sophie Geistererscheinungen," German, Weimar, 1825; Grimm's "German Mythology."

These spirits, which stood in a mysterious relationship of life to individual persons, and to whole families, were more frequent in the English islands, where, and especially on the Faroes, they carried off men,—an unusual circumstance in Norway and Sweden. In Germany there were Little Men of the Mines, Wild Women, Kobolds and Nixes, as may be learned from the legends of the brothers Grimm. The northern Necks resemble in many particulars the Naiads of the Greeks, as these are the protecting inhabitants of small inland lakes, and mix themselves often in the affairs of men, especially of enamoured youths and maidens, and therefore play a prominent part in the legends of the people, who usually give a waggish character to them, though legends say that they also draw men into the water and drown them. The Rokken or Necks belong to the evil portion of the elves of northern mythology, and, like the Valkyrior, fearfully beautiful beings, are daughters neither of heaven nor of hell. They are the beautiful maids of Odin, sitting with helm and cuirass on flying horses. The subterranean Necks, who carry off human beings, play a great part; and there are many relations of midwives, and even princely ladies, who have been carried off, to aid some one of the Necks in the time of childbirth, and then have been recompensed with costly presents, such as golden rings, necklaces with diamond clasps, etc., which, through their magical power, have brought to the whole family prosperity and blessings. The elves came into Germany under the name of travelling, flying, good children, the little gracious ones, etc. The affinity of the German and northern elves is clear, and in the bloody drama of the witch-trials throughout Europe, the fays and elves played the same part in England and Scotland, and in the criminal proceedings were placed in the same category as the witch-spirits and social-devils in Germany and France. The elves, like the alrunes of the Druids, practised works of mercy in woods, and a certain sympathetic affinity with trees became thus propagated in the popular faith. It is remarkable, also, that the German elves were accustomed to wander under the elder trees, as was the case still later in the witch-trials.

We have already made acquaintance with this tree and the laurel in association with the Grecian oracles. The witches were accustomed to bury their elves under elder trees, with certain ceremonies, which shows that they were regarded as dangerous. Whoever, during the period of the witch persecutions, found himself unexpectedly under an elder tree, was involuntarily seized with horror, and probably fell into ecstasy.

Palacky, in his "History of Bohemia," says that in ancient times the Sclaves did not differ essentially from the Germans in their faith. "The Sclaves were," he remarks, "never a conquering and martially nomadic people, like the Germans and Sarmatians, but lovers of peace and of a settled abode, and devoted to agriculture, the rearing of cattle, trade, and commerce. In the feeling of their common descent, they called themselves Serbs,—that is, allied people, and were always distinguished from their western neighbours by the name of Wends. The mode of life of these harmless people offered nothing which distinguished them essentially from the Germans, yet their *penchant* for music, song, and dance, very early became a natural tendency. They believed in one highest God—Boh—the creator of the world, the original fountain of light and of lightning. This god received, as it appears, from the different races different names; but the most prevailing one was Perun. Besides this, they worshipped many demons, called Diasi. Disor, in the northern mythology, are male and female, good and evil. The latter are called Biasi. Not only every natural phenomenon, but also human passions, were directed by the operation of such Diasi."

SECOND DIVISION.

THE MAGIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE SORCERY OF WITCHCRAFT; THE WITCH-TRIALS; POSSESSION; EPIDEMIC CRAMPS.

A PARALLEL of the heathen and Christian magic in their transition conducts us to the fundamental views of their consequent transformation to the magic of the middle ages, where they completed their degeneration into that adventurous power of the Black Art, which professed to rule over heaven and hell, over life and death. We have now, as the result, to contemplate the application of witch-magic, as it particularly regards its origin, its development, and its end, in order to obtain a just judgment on that remarkable time.

Mantic and the seer-faculty was to the heathen a certainty. It was the mighty influence of demoniac powers, which, as it were, had a direct, though it might be a secret, connection with life. Ever after, men believed these powers to be bound up with certain beings,—as, for instance, the fairies and elves,—they were persuaded that these must be the real possessors of the gift of prophecy, which they impart to men by a sympathetic means, when these, in some mysterious manner, come into closer proximity with them, either accidentally or purposely. In the heathen magic there was nothing miraculous: the proper reign of miracles commences with the Christian era. For, amongst the

heathens, the demons belonged, to a certain degree, to the sphere of the real world. The physical and supernatural were not so absolutely separated as Christianity separated the heaven from the earth, the eternal from the temporal, the spiritual from the natural. The ideas of truth and goodness, of beauty and virtue, of the reward and punishment of actions, and of immortality, advanced in all their clearness from the natural limits of time and space into the region of the supernatural. But, as everything ideal must have an image in representation, the human imagination, therefore, personified those ideas, according to their kind, in physical and natural shapes, such as the boldest fancy had never before arrived at. The spiritual being absorbed into the natural, was again transformed into the unnatural; and thus, as the darkened understanding separated the actual from the apparent, the natural from the spiritual powers, the inner from the outer, the imagination had free play, and the divine and the human, spirit and nature, supernatural and physical, were mixed together, and so interchanged that a motley world of wonder and secresy might well arise. Men got into that state that they could not discriminate whether an unusual occurrence were the result of foreign influence or of a physical law. In heathendom their gods and spirits were still natural beings, and in an immediate connection with man; they were, to a certain extent, of mortal descent, idealized out of the natural. But in Christianity the spirits were of an absolutely different substance, beings from another world exercising an influence upon this; but nevertheless of a mighty power, and so much the more terrible as they were from a strange world. The faith in sorcery and magic arts might be there as here general, and even have an influence on the proceedings of government; but the "Incantationes Magicæ" of the Romans were directly denounced by civil laws as mischievous arts: on the contrary, the witch-trials were made over amongst Christians to the Inquisition, as the highest spiritual court, that it might afford assistance in withstanding the sorcery of the devil and his host. The sorcerer was to be regarded not merely as one who used his freedom to injure men, or as a deceiver, but as one to be condemned, being himself bewitched by a

superhuman spirit, and possessed by it. In the former case human deceit was condemned as mischievous; here the man was punished with death as the vehicle or work-tool of the wicked one, or as identical with him. According to the pagan notion, the influence of spirits came from without; according to that of the Judaic-Christian system, the devil entered into the body of the man, and before the sorcerer could cease to practise his arts he must be expelled thence by spiritual force. Amongst the heathen, an idiot was supposed to be made so by the elves; the accused lunatic was said to be possessed. The elves stole the children of the heathen and left a changeling in its place: amongst the Christians, the devil entered the changeling. The devils, however, took possession of horses and cattle as well as of men, as Noisy Ghosts—Poltergeister. Amongst the heathen, at most, the little Grey Man took up his quiet abode there, not to mock, but to help,—not to terrify and injure.

Amongst the Greeks and Romans, where formerly Homeric, Virgilian, and Ovidian gods presented themselves, and sorcery consisted in beautiful paintings of the imagination, magic had a totally different character to that which it assumed in the Judaic-Christian faith, where the devil played the chief part. The magical arts were not, in old time, attributed to the influence of the powers of darkness, but to people who were in familiar intercourse with the gods and demons. The ancient German and northern elves approximated nearer to those of the Christian world; yea, they constitute, to a certain degree, the foundation and the underwork of the following witch-period. Here men understood by sorcery rather the operation of secret powers, which were ascribed to wicked men and fallen beings, and not to the gods who performed the higher miracles, and who merely worked for good. Among the ancient Germans only, a species of intermediate beings between God and men were considered as enchanted, deeply subtle giants and wicked giantesses, cunning elves and dwarfs, whose art was, in a manner, inborn. "The real sorcerer is the upward-striving man. By the side of his health-bringing practice a pernicious one developed itself. The original cause of all sorcery must have proceeded from the very bosom of the holiest, the united wisdom of all heathenism, operating on the worship

of the gods and the art of poetry. Sacrifices and singing passed over into representations of magic; priests and poets, men admitted to the confidence of the gods, and participants of divine inspiration, soon merged into the diviner and sorcerer" (Grimm, a. a. O. S. 579. The ancient Germans were acquainted with sorcery and the sorcerer, but in the former, not in the latter character, where sorcery and the devil were all one. Properly, sorcery only signified the miraculous in certain persons, and the old Saxon word Wikken meant to divine or prophesy; and still, says Grimm, Wikken, or Wicheln, means to divine; Wikker, a wizard, and Wichler, a witch or soothsayess.

There is no good in the world which has not its opposite, or which may not become mischievous through its abuse. The revelation of the Christian religion is the greatest gift of God to man, and which is intended to enlighten the understanding and to soften the heart. But reason is erratic, and the heart is a member of Belial; or does the heart follow the eye? and does the understanding prove the depth and the movements of the heart? Yes, there are people whose hearts, says the psalmist, will ever go astray, and the heart of a fool is like a vessel which will not hold water!

What confusions of the understanding have not arisen out of the teaching of the new religion! And what abuses of reason have not led to the most insensate actions! Instead of the true faith producing the noblest fruits of wisdom, power, and love, there arose the winter of a devouring superstition and of the most maniacal fanaticism! It is, in fact, wonderful how the doctrines of religion can lead the human mind so completely into error and inconsistency; it is scarcely credible that Christianity, during the early period of proselytism from heathendom, should have conducted so many professors of its name to delusion and madness. Plebeians and nobles, young and old, put more living faith in a supernatural world of spirits than in God and physical nature. Their imagination created a heaven and an earth, and peopled them with opposing spirits, to whom they gave up man and the world as the arena of their warfare. The pious and the reckless entered into social arrangements with spirits like themselves, nay even into marriage connections with them. Torturing pangs of conscience drove

unhappy individuals to the confessions of sins, and many accused themselves of crimes which it was impossible for them to commit, and which the wise ones of the time, —learned theologians, physicians, and jurists,—endeavoured to demonstrate as possible with the most heated zeal, the most sophistical acumen, and the most incontestible facts. The belief in sorcery, and in compacts with the devil, rose to such a pitch of madness and of universal confusion of the Christian world, that men attributed to the devil the violent possession of innocent as well as guilty men; and therefore took the field promiscuously against the defenceless, the unhappy, and the insane; sought and found upon them all the tokens of sorcery, and suspended over them all kinds of torments; and, finally, drove many hundred thousands of vainly resisting wretches to death by fire and sword. The Hexen-hammer contains extraordinary memorials of that time of wonder, and of the highest possible pitch of mental blindness and of horrible superstition which the human race ever arrived at on the earth. The whole of nature was converted into a world of sorcery; no one any longer believed his own senses; life was a sport of demons; no one thought any more of fixed laws of nature; all was miracle effected by supernatural spirit, but which had not the spirit of Christ,—love, as a result, but the terrors and the tyranny of hell.

Thus the idea of magic at that time was become totally different to its original one,—that of the art of inquiring into the secret powers of nature in order to use them to advantage. Now all extraordinary natural phenomena passed for the work of the devil, and were ascribed directly to certain spirits, or to men possessed by them: but, strictly speaking, all magic and sorcery, and all those marvellous appearances, were understood as the work of the devil.

If we inquire into the possible origin of so terrible a superstition, we may observe that we have the elements of it in the former heathenism on the one hand, and in the tone of mind introduced by Christianity on the other. Thereby the motives were given for carrying at once the mind from physical nature into the absolutely supernatural world, which had first been opened up by the idea of immortality and freedom of life after death.

In this manner we see how the belief in magic and miracle by degrees arose out of the root and grew into the full tree, with all the varied forms of the times and of national culture; and the history of the witch-prosecutions is no longer to be wondered at as an isolated fact, but to be studied as a singular and important judicial procedure.

The name of Hexe, Witch, comes originally, according to Keisler ("De Mulieribus fatidicis, antiq. septentrion. et celt.," 1720), from the word Haegse, a wise woman; and Haegse from Hygia, according to Olaus Worm, *in Lexico runico*, which means wisdom. This word, says Keisler, was changed into Hesee, witch, and then signified a wicked woman who had a spirit of sorcery and divination, which meaning, after the introduction of the Christian religion, was connected with a sort of spectres, in the same manner that the Alrunes—those prophetic priestesses—came to mean the same thing, only in a ludicrous point of view. The Celtic Alrune is the oldest and general name of a soothsaying and sacred woman amongst the Germans, as we read in Cæsar and Tacitus. Wholly of the signification, according to Horst, is Alrune stil, in the Islandic, that is, witch in a good or bad meaning,—a knowing woman,—Fiol Kuni; and a wizard, a much-knowing man,—Fiol Kuningar. Alrune means, literally, all or much-knowing,—from all, much, and runen, to know, inquire. This word had, therefore, no other signification than Magus, diviner, Mantic, soothsayer, prophet amongst other people. So said Cicero—"Sagæ a sagiendo dictæ, quia multa scire volunt. Sagire enim sentire acute est" (De Divinatione, lib. i.) Grimm derives Hexe, a witch, from Hegtese, old Saxon, and Hegese, English, Hag, and from *hagr*, artistic. Hexe is a subtle crafty woman; Hexen, *fascinare*, Heig Heiang, seem to express sorcery. But, down to the seventeenth century, the word Fiend was preferred to these unusual terms, which means diabolism. Drut, Druid, was synonymous with witch, and meant a plaguing and oppressive nightmare. *Strix*, *Striga*, Old French, *estrie*, Italian, *strega*, *stregora*,—sorcerer. Originally, strix was a bird of sorcery. "Striges ab avibus ejusdem nominis, quia maleficæ mulieres volaticæ dicuntur" (Testus).

Christianity has altered the heathenish idea of witch-

craft in many ways; yet there is an obvious agreement in it with the sacrifices, assemblies of the people, and the spirit-world of the ancient Germans. The Salic laws speak of such assemblings, of the cookery of the witches, and of witch kettles; for more of which see Grimm.

These soothsaying women, at the period of the diffusion of Christianity, were very numerous in Germany and the north of Europe; and, as they were equally frequent amongst the ancient votaries of the gods, and as those gods came to to be regarded as demons and evil spirits, thus, consequently, the strange doings of these women came to be regarded as produced by the help of demons, and the women themselves as witches, and the accomplices of devils. It is certain that, in the early ages of the Church, the Fathers did not regard divination in this evil point of view. Clemens of Alexandria says (Stromat., lib. i. p. 97)—"There are amongst the Germans so called prophetic women, who, according to the running of the river, and the form of the waves, etc., divine, and foretell future events." Later, when the dreams of spirits, and a superstitious belief in the devil and spectres so increased, that in the middle ages all the elements were full of spirits, undines, kobolds, and salamanders; when an especial power was acknowledged in the formulæ of sorcery, to exorcise and banish spectres; when every phenomenon of nature, and even the severest sicknesses, were attributed to the influence of the devil; when people, by a proneness to subjective groping, and to a rabid fanaticism, without any attention to an objective knowledge of nature and to genuine religious revelation, confused the sign with the thing, interposed the vision of the thing for the thing itself; when the people came in the excitement of this madness to confess impossibilities, and the educated world of judges and clergymen accepted the maniacal confessions of weak and sickly persons as perfectly valid "Species facti," and judged accordingly;—then had the Black Arts, in fact, their highest bloom, and the devil reached the summit of his power, and the name of witch was a word of terror for young and old, for small and great. And now was the time which, alas! stands in history as a horrible evidence of the total confusion and utter degeneracy of the human mind, when witches were no longer prophetic women;

but malicious, fortune-telling sorceresses: "Quæ nunc pessimam incantatricem et sagam notat," says Keisler, "olim a radice Haegse, mulier sapiens erat, prudens ac ratione valens."

The whole Christian world, from the sixteenth and seventeenth to the eighteenth century, was so sunk in the idea of witchcraft, that all ranks and classes may be regarded as actually bewitched; for whoever did not so deem himself was accused and denounced as being so; and every natural occurrence was the work of witches,—as lightning and hail, milk turning sour, the loss of swine, all sorts of diseases in men and cattle,—as cramps, lamenesses, swellings, impotence, etc. One especial kind of witchcraft was the appearance of all kinds of things in different parts of the body,—as thread and laces, worsted and yarn, potsherds, needles, and nails; nay, even living things,—as lizards, toads and mice, worms and frogs, that were conjured into the stomach. The witches cooked their own broth, and prepared their own butter and salve, with which they made themselves invisible. They made the witch-butter,—*cooperante diabolo*,—from the aurora-coloured matter exuded from the bodies of children which they had stolen and carried off to the Blocksberg. The witches and wizards had among themselves a widely-spread secret confederation; they had a peculiar worship in solemn expeditions through the air, with lusty dances and merrymakings in remote places,—particularly in deserts and on lofty mountains. The Blocksberg was in Germany the great place of assembly where the whole tribe congregated out of all Christendom, under the guidance of Beelzebub, with whom they made a pact, which they confirmed by writing their names in a book with their own blood, and then sealing it, and had even carnal intercourse with him. They had especial festival days, as Friday—the witches' Sabbath. They made their flight on sticks, broomsticks, or on he-goats, through wind and storm. As they foresaw the future, they knew all the secrets of rich men and of princes, and no one any longer doubted the truth when a reputed witch or wizard accused the most innocent person of sorcery, for they were supposed to have learned all in their nocturnal visions. Neither by the revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, nor through the Reforma-

tion, were these deeply-rooted opinions regarding witchcraft and the influence of evil spirits on nature and men extirpated; they continued in all countries rather amongst the Protestants than amongst Catholics; and at Clarus in Switzerland a witch was executed in 1780. The most enlightened scholars and natural philosophers were of no avail in disseminating the light, and in subduing the general madness; they could only prepare the way for gradually undermining the power which the belief in sorcery had attained, and for making it innoxious. There was, in fact, no longer, even amongst the learned and accomplished, any doubt of the influence of the devil.

> "Man's highest strength, his noblest parts,
> His learning, science, and his arts,
> Now give themselves to sorceries,
> And to the Father of all lies."

The professors of laws now collected assiduously all tales of sorcery, and the *Collegium logicum* became a Will-of-the wisp, and the philosopher stepped in and demonstrated that it must be so. In the year 1484 the witch-persecution was formally introduced into Germany by a bull of Pope Innocent VIII.; and in the year 1489 appeared a publication under public authority, under the title, "MALLEUS MALEFICARUM,"—the Witch-hammer,—which became the code of action in the witch-prosecutions. There was, alas! no question as to the right which is born with us; reason became nonsense, benefaction a pestilence. The spirit of medicine is easy of comprehension; men studied the great and the little world through and through, in order to attain to an end. Celebrated physicians continued, even into the eighteenth century, to regard the so-called mischief of the evil-eye and of sorcery not as natural symptoms, nor as the reckless artifices of revengeful men—though plenty of these presented themselves on the witch-trials; but they pronounced them to be diseases immediately produced by the devil. They regarded the mulberry-marks found on the chest from nightmare, or on different parts of the body, sometimes in blue and yellow spots, and caused by cramps, to be certain signs of supernatural phenomena.

The highest law with the Theologians was that of Moses:—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. xxii. 18).

According to the Witch-hammer, the theological-juridical commentary of the criminal code of the Sorcery-Bill, the belief in the paramour-devils, and in their participation with the witch-host in all kinds of vice and lewdness, was an indisputable axiom, and the death by fire an unassailable right and command. The universal superstition contributed decidedly to make the imagination, already excited by stories, by religious fanaticism, by delusion of the senses, and disease, completely mad; and in the Inquisition it was often observed in the confession during witch-trials, that a partially fixed idea became confirmed during the inquiry. The bewitchment of the senses in such an excited condition of mind was by no means difficult, in order to convert the delusions of appearance into reality, or to give to reality the impression of illusion. For illusion becomes permanent although at first it may be known to be mere deception, where any one repeatedly treats it as reality, or where even any one simulates or firmly maintains a deception; as Mengs has remarked, that figures put themselves into motion if you continue to look at them for a long time. Therefore, the confession of visions and of appearances of men, animals, and devils, is easy of solution; the journeys through the air, so frequently related, find analogous scenes amongst the magnetic and other visions, and the spiritual intercourse, and all circumstances of fear and of fancy, with their results, originate in the same causes. As to the disconnected images and representations of the metamorphoses of beasts and men,—ghosts and blood-sucking vampires, who were the objects of the grossest superstition, especially in Hungary and Servia,—witch-worship, dances, and feasts, —it is less to be wondered at that such creatures of fantasy should be conceived, than that people should universally believe them, when, at least, in the beginning, the accused denied their existence, and suffered no tortures to extort a confession from them. There were, however, all sorts of books and writings which taught how people might be brought into intercourse with spirits; there were also witch-powders and salves which produced a kind of somnambulism in which stupifying herbs, as aconite, which, according to Cardan, produces a sensation of flying; hyoscyamus, taxus, hypericum, and assafœtida, sulphur, and glass of anti-

mony, were used. They rubbed themselves in various parts of the body with the salve, in which narcotics, garlic, etc., were used; and nymphomania, hysteria, and somnambulic visions were the consequences. 'For behind the curtains of magic and miraculous works lay concealed the unclean spirits in the natural flesh, which were not restrained. According to Jung Stilling, in "Theobald, or the Fanatic," vol. i. p. 244, the religious excitement often flows from a very impure source; and he states that a fanatic society appeared in the thirtieth year of the last century, in which such transports followed the rubbing and kneading of the body in a magnetic manner, and those in whom these took place were said to be new-born. ' It, therefore, depended entirely on the explanation whether in these scenes of excited feeling and of the life of the imagination, the result should be held to be a witch-exploit and dealing with the devil, or a vision of holiness; for the former were not always engrafted on sinful propensities and low desires, nor were the latter always the fruits of a pure mind and of genuine love. Spasms and all sorts of convulsive appearances accompanied invariably both exhibitions, which, however, in witchcraft terms were only attributed to the power of hell; and on that account, as Moses formerly, they believed themselves called upon to drive forth the devil and all his host with fire and sword.

There were very frequently such unusual appearances connected with those spasms, as are now often witnessed in magnetism, and which people in that dark time were not in a condition to treat as the consequences of abnormal processes of nature, but attributed to the evil principle; believing the spasms and accompanying phenomena to be the work of the devil, and those who suffered under them as possessed by him. Thus we read in the witch-trials that during the most horrible convulsions of the limbs, visions were seen revealing secrets of so deep a nature that the devil only knew them; that those who were considered to be bewitched (as those afflicted with St. Vitus's dance, epilepsy, or in the most terrible agitations of madness) not only fell to the ground, but sprung up walls, and climbed up on high, were carried up into the air, and danced, leaped, and made evolutions of the body which were inconceivable and impossible to men in health; and that such

persons ran here and there, and turned about at a surprising rate without any injury. So, also, under the torture, those accused of witchcraft, as in a state of catalepsy, were partially insensible to every agony, to stab and blow, to pinching and burning, and even fell asleep under the most terrific attempts at torture, feeling no pain whatever. As in hysterical cases, their bodies were now blown up like a barrel, without bursting; then again were drawn in as if they were totally gone, and as suddenly again puffed up like a pair of bellows, and with the loudest noises, as if struck, moved up and down, sunk and swelled again. From the different parts of the bodies of the bewitched all sorts of materials and working implements made their way: as worms, egg-shells, hairs, cloth, yarn, pins, needles, glass, etc.; whilst others, on the contrary, for long periods took no nourishment, and yet retained the strength and fulness of their bodies.

The natural causes of these phenomena we see as clearly from the accounts of the witch-prosecutions,—those terrible spectacles of blindness,—as out of the individual biographies and the reports of the stout assailants of the witch-faith. As that of Tartarelli in "Del congresso notturno delle lamie, Lib. tre S'aggiungono due dissertazione sopra l'arte magica, Roveredo, 1750." "A Short Epitome of the Crimes of Witchcraft with the Actis Magicis of Johann Reichen, 1703." "Maffei dell' Ossa, Balthazar Becker, die bezauberte Welt, Amsterdam, 1693." "Christian Thomasius de crimine magiæ, 1701." "De origine et progressu inquisitionis contra sagas, 1712." Also in German, "Enquiry into the origin and progress of the prosecutions of the Inquisition against witches." "Free thoughts, or monthly conversations,—the history of wisdom and folly." "Wier, de Prestigiis dæmonum." "Reginald Scott, Discovery of Witchcraft, London, 1602." "Nicolai de magicus artibus, tractatus singularis philosophico-theologicus et historicus, 1649." "Fried. Spee, Cautio criminalis, sive de processibus contra sagas, liber ad magistratus Germaniæ vox tempore necessarius, etc. Rintel, 1631. In German, "The Book of conscience on the trials against the witches." It first showed the physiological foundation of the false pictures of imagination. All these showed and described the natural ground and cause of those phenomena to be the Satanic

persecution of the courts of justice. No land and no people were behind the rest in this cursed drama, as Semler calls it,—every party in religion vied with the others for the first rank in the persecution of witches; hundreds of thousands were sacrificed, and misery spread its wings of darkness everywhere. Even the sick, and children of from nine to fourteen years of age, as well as old men, were struck by the destroying power; neither the traveller journeying on his way, nor yet even "the blind maiden, were spared." People of rank, consideration, and wealth, were often, from envy, revenge, or hatred, accused of witchcraft, because their understanding made them more distinguished, their diligence richer, and their rank more honoured. The protestations of innocence were treated as lies; the anguish and terror of the accused were regarded as proofs of guilt; and they who courageously stood firm by the truth had, by hours of continued torture, lies pressed out of them, for death only ended such misery. Auber, in recording these facts—Acta scripta magica—prays the reader, and especially those who had not seen the depths of Satan, and who always seem to think that in the doctrine of the bodily power of the devil there is something almost divine and true, to reflect, "per viscera Christi," who would probably have escaped with his life, if a stop had not been put to these fire-murders?

We have already seen, in our notice of paganism, the foundations of the belief in sorcery amongst Christians; we have now to take a nearer view of the further extension of the magic and witch-faith in Christianity down to the witch persecutions, which were no isolated appearances, but, as it were, a necessary development of a deeply-rooted germ.

The idea of two contending principles arose very early in the East. The apparently hostile powers of nature, and also the morally base, occasioned philosophy to accept of two higher, opposed primeval beings, the bad near to the good, and exercising a secret influence on nature and on man. On this notion rested especially the religious doctrines of Zoroaster, according to whom Ormuzd was the author of light, and Ahriman the author of darkness, the principle of evil. Both principles had their ministering spirits. The Amschaspands and the Izeds were the good spirits, and the Devs were the bad ones under the rule of

Ahriman. "The representations of absolute evil, of the devil and devilish spirits, which afterwards took such fast and universal hold on the public mind, were unknown to our pagan progenitors. A total ideal distinction between a good and an evil spirit is equally unknown to the Greek, the Indian, and our old German theology" (Grimm, S. 549).

It seems certain that the Jews, during their Assyrian captivity, acquired for the most part their notions respecting Satan and good and evil angels. In the history of the creation, Moses speaks nothing of Satan or the devil, but only of the serpent, "which was more subtle than all the beasts of the field which the Lord God had made." It is true that there lies an undeniable principle of treachery in the idea of the serpent; and the devil, as the author of wickedness and the opposer of God, is originally contained in the Jewish religion, although not so fully demonstrated till the Babylonish captivity. The word Satan presents itself a few times in the Old Testament; as in Samuel, 2nd book, xix. 22, where David says, "What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah, that you should thus be Satan* to me?" Then in 1st Book of Chronicles, c. 21,—"And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." "Through the envy of the devil death is come into the world,"—Wisdom, ii. 24. But Satan first stands forth in person in Job: "So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils," etc. And he mingled amongst the children of God, and entered into a dialogue with the Lord, which is of genuine Oriental character,—Chap. i. ver. 6—13.

"6. Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them.

"7. And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.

"8. And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil?

* Thus rendered in the German Bible.

"9. Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, Doth Job fear God for nought?

"10. Hast not thou made a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land.

"11. But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.

"12. And the Lord said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand. So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord."

In the second chapter Satan holds the same dialogue with the Lord, with the request that he may stretch forth his hand, and touch Job's flesh and bone; whereupon the Lord gave him into Satan's hand, with this condition, that he should spare his life:—"Then went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head." It is clear that the pious and sorely afflicted Job had somnambulic visions, which the whole conversation of Satan with the Lord shows, and which is also plainly declared. Thus, in the conversation with his wife,—ii. 9; and again, iv. 12—16.

"12. Now a thing was secretly brought to me, and mine ear received a little thereof.

"13. In thoughts of the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men,

"14. Fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake.

"15. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up:

"16. It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof; an image was before mine eyes," etc.

And further,—"Then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifyest me with visions"—viii. 14. And again,—"For the arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit."

The whole extraordinary book of Job has been by numerous commentators asserted not to be of a period earlier than the captivity. Of this opinion are Michaelis, Döderlein, and Hufnagel; and Horst, in his "Dämonomagie," says,—"From this time forward as the Jews lived amongst

the admirers of Zoroaster, and thus became acquainted with his doctrines, we find, partly in contradiction to the earlier views of their religion, many tenets prevailing amongst them, the origin of which it is impossible to explain, except by the operation of the doctrines of Zoroaster. To these belong the general acceptance of the theory of Satan, as well as of good and bad angels (see the Handbook of the History of the Church, by J. E. C. Schmidt).

All the different descriptions of the existence and influence of evil spirits, as they have come down to us, have been modified by Christianity. The devil is altogether Jewish, Christian, heathen, idolatrous, and spectral. As the heathen gods disappeared Christianity stooped to dualism, and the gnostic philosophy endeavoured to establish the universal principle of good and evil. "The name of Devil," says Grimm, "is un-German, and is nothing else than the retained διάβολος; and our Angel, both in word and idea, is thence also derived. Tiebil, Tieval, Diefal, are used by the Vulgate for dæmonium; and in Ulfilas is Diabaulus, Satana, and Unhultho, translated by δαιμόνιον."

By Angel in the Old Testament, according to the original text, was understood an officer to carry a message; and thence messenger, one sent of God: on which account also the teachers and preachers in the Old and New Testaments are called "Publishers of glad tidings." Some commentators in this sense understand in Isaiah, xxxiii. ver. 7, by Angels of Peace, the messengers of the Assyrians to the Jews, and of the Jews to the Assyrians. In the Old Testament the appearances in the visions are called angels, as appearing to Moses, Abraham, etc. When the angel appeared a second time to Hagar, he promised to make of Ishmael a great people.

"The doctrine of angels," says Gottfried Büchner (Biblische Real- und Verbalconcordanzien, 1757), "is for the most part covered with darkness: here reason cannot see far; and the knowledge which we derive from the Scriptures is equally small. We do not know properly what a spirit is, and how it can move a body. Whether this class of beings think as we do; how they explain their ideas one to another; are questions as much buried under uncertainty. Reason, indeed, finds nothing absurd in the existence of spirits, since the

Scriptures clearly reveal it; but perceives, at the same time, that it is not contrary to the goodness, wisdom, and omnipotence of God, to have created such beings. But much further it cannot advance; it must content itself with probability, and it does so when it accepts, in faith, the divine assurances, and does not suffer itself to be disturbed at what a good and wise God has concealed from its knowledge."

Whence we infer, that we can as little deny as we can prove the existence of objective spirits; but that there is nothing in the theory contrary to reason, that God in his great household should have such, and should permit them to have an influence on the spirits of men. On this subject, in an article in the "Archeolog. Phil., p. 68," T. Burnet says:—"Facile credo, plures esse naturas invisibiles in rerum universitate, sed harum omnium familiam quis nobis enarrabit? Et gradus et cognationes et discrimina et singularum munera! quid agunt, quæ loca habitant? Harum rerum notitiam semper ambivit ingenium humanum, nunquam attigit. Juvat interea, non diffiteor, quandoque in animo, tanquam in tabula, majoris et melioris mundi imaginem contemplari, ne mens assuefacta hodiernæ vitæ minutiis se contrahat nimis, et tota subsidat in pusillas cogitationes. Sed veritati interea vigilandum est, modusque servandus, ut certa ab incertis, diem a nocte distinguamas."

It is very certain that impulses of spirits towards men are not so common as we fancy, for the psychological representations of all kind of phenomena proceed out of the undivided nature of the living man, and for the most part through a physical process, as I have shown in my "Magnetism in relation to Nature and Religion." It would not be, according to that belief, so very absurd to consider that man is influenced directly by God, without this influence being communicated through angels; while this influence has assumed to itself a form according to the language and ideas of men; as the Izeds of the East, the Angels of the Jews, the Dis of the Germans, and the Saints of the Middle Ages.

There is, indeed, no foundation in the Bible for the idea that every man has his guardian angel, since we see that one angel is given to many men (Daniel, iii. 28), and again many to one

man. Thus an angel smote of the people, when David took a census of them, sixty thousand. An angel smote in the camp of the Assyrians one hundred and eighty-five thousand men. On the other hand, the angels are represented in multitudes as engaged for particular purposes, and there is something venerable, excellent, and grand in the idea. For example, David pleased Achis as an angel of God. I. Sam. xxix. 9—"And my lord is wise with the wisdom of an angel." II. Sam. xiv. 20—"For my lord the king is as an angel of God, that he can hear both good and evil." Amongst the Jews the chief person in the Synagogue was called the angel of the congregation. It was requisite for him to have a perfect beard, to be a born Jew, and to exceed all others in wisdom, ability, and holiness, in expounding of the Scriptures. So also is the angel of the New Testament the oldest teacher, the head of the congregation (Revelations, ii. 1, 8, 12, 18, etc.) Christ is the great ambassador and chief messenger (Heb. iii. 1); the uncreated angel, who also went before the Israelites in the pillar of fire (Exod. xxiii. 30); who took upon himself the office of saving mankind. In the Scriptures he is everywhere to be understood where divine names, works, properties, and honours are attributed to an angel. Christ is the angel of the covenant, and already was so understood in the Old Testament; the angel of light, who appeared in the flesh in order to announce to men the covenant of God, "the angel amongst thousands,"—Job. "And the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in,"—Malachi, iii. 1.

The angels appeared in different forms and with symbolical signs, and their sublime images are described in the Revelations of St. John. For instance, in the 13th chapter,—"And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire." And, again, in the 16th chapter: the angel with the seven vials pouring out the wrath of God. In the 20th chapter: the angel who had the keys of the bottomless pit in his hand, to bind the dragon, the old serpent. By an evil angel is understood a wicked man, a false prophet; for instance, Alexander the coppersmith,—I. Tim. iv. 14. The angel of the bottomless pit, of darkness, the messenger of the devil, or Satan himself. But

general as was the belief in good and bad angels amongst the Jews, there were not wanting sceptics at the appearance of Christ,—as the Sadducees, who methodically denied the existence of spirits and devils, which, however, did not prevent the reception of good and bad angels into the universal belief of the church. For now they were the publishers of the will of God, his servants and messengers, the executors of his commands and judgments, the administrators of various ordinances, even in the phenomena of nature. For example, an angel agitated the waters in the pool of Bethesda,—John, v. 4. The evil angels are as numerous as the good, and they whose power is recognised are legion,—Mark, v. 9. They have even a certain gradation of ranks. Beelzebub is the chief of the devils,—Matthew, xii. 24.

After the Jews had adopted the ideas of the Assyrians as to good and bad spirits, of mischievous and destruction-bringing angels, the faith in their number and might augmented in proportion to the decline of religion, and at the time of Christ had reached such a height that it became as necessary to purify men within as without, and to purge their bodies and spirits equally from diseases. Christ did not bring the spirit-world into religion,—he found it already there; and his mission of emancipation consisted in this, that he conducted men to true virtue and freed them from the power of the devil. For the Prince of Darkness—he who dwells in the air—is cast by the God of peace under our feet,—Romans, xvi. 20. In wickedness the Wicked One had terrible address; what misery he brought upon pious Job! what anguish he occasioned to David by inducing him to number the people! But what availed his power against Christ? His temptations had dared to attack the inner and divine principle: but Christ cast all those false pretences behind him; and his power and authority were so great that he cast out the devils who had taken possession of others, and released the possessed from the pains of hell. But the fiends did not quit their hold on men without a fierce resistance, nor did they always disappear without a trace. The devils of two possessed who came out of the tombs, and were so terrible that they made the country of the Gergasenes quite unsettled, implored the Lord that they might enter into a herd of swine; "and the whole herd ran head-

long into the sea, and were drowned in the waters,"—Matt. viii. 28: a circumstance as interesting to the anthropologists as to the pious believers. The following passages in the gospel, the special anthropological interpretation of which I leave to the reader, are both expressive and important. For instance, "The devil sows tares amongst the good wheat,"—Matt. xiii. 24. He assumes the form of an angel of light,—II. Corinth. xi. 14. He goes about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour,—I. Peter, v. 8. He produces also bodily disease; as the woman, who had the spirit of sickness for eighteen years, was bent and could scarcely look up,—Luke, xiii. 11. He blinds the senses "till they recover themselves out of the snares of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will,"—II. Timothy, ii. 26. The following passages are also important:—"Heal the sick; cast out devils,"—Matt. x. 8. "And they said of John, he has a devil,"—Matt. xi. 18; and of Christ, that he drove out the devils through Beelzebub. "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil,"—Ephesians, vi. 11. "Take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." "The devil will throw some of you into prison. He who sins is of the devil." He is also called metaphorically a devil in the Scriptures, who has a lying, calumnious spirit. The tables of the devil are feasts dedicated to idols, and at the same time to the devil. False gods, as some literally interpret it, are imps of the devil. Subtlety bears the name of serpent; devilish cruelty is represented under the name of a lion (I. Peter, v. 8); dominion amongst the children of unbelief under the image of a prince. The devil has not so much power as a divine tolerance.

When the godless have resisted the gentle drawings of the Holy Spirit, and have rejected grace, till they have forgotten God in their darkness, and are become as dry stubble, the devil finds in them his prey, and enters into them. If the pious are tempted like Job for the wise purposes of God, they kiss the paternal hand of God in humility, and hold fast their faith, so that to them who serve God and love their neighbours all things are well,—Romans, viii. 28. The Holy Ghost enters into them, so that the hellish lion has no power over them. They arm themselves with spiri-

tual weapons out of the armoury of Christ,—Ephesians, vi. 11. They pray fervently, are "sober and vigilant,"—I. Peter, v. 8. They resist in faith and avoid sin, and "they overcome all spiritual enemies through the blood of the Lamb,"—Revelations, xii. 11. So that they exclaim joyfully, "Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ,"—I. Corinthians, xv. 57.

Just as it is dark or bright in the inner man, do the objective impulses clothe themselves in correspondent terms; as soon as it is quiet within, the outward tempest of the world ceases. "Fear only has its seat," says Schiller, "where heavy and shapeless masses prevail, and the gloomy outlines waver between uncertain boundaries. Man rises superior to every terror of nature as soon as he is able to give it a form, and can make it a definite object. When he begins to assert his independence against nature as an appearance, he also asserts his dignity against nature as a power, and in all freedom stands up boldly before his gods. He tears away the masks from the spectres which terrified his childhood, and they surprise him with his own image, for they are merely his own imaginations."

The idea of the divine and the spiritual adapt themselves to the individual and national mind, and the historical advance of cultivation; and if every representation or thought which the mind entertains modify itself according to circumstances, and if every fact be presented in a peculiar light, still the objective foundation which occasions the thought and the representation is not, therefore, wholly inoperative; or, in other words, the motive to the representation may be an outward spiritual power. Who will assert that man is an isolated being, standing alone in creation? who will deny a manifold variety of spiritual powers? and who knows the ways and means through which the Creator and Ruler of the world influences mankind? But spirits and devils are not that which they, for the most part, appear in flesh and in clothes; they are lifeless shapes of the imagination, and not belonging to space and physics, as they are so often believed to be, for the spiritual excludes the idea of natural space. No spirit can appear in nature as a shade, or as a sensible shape, being destitute of material substance which can act as a reflector of sensation from without. What, then, is the external

charm or the internal germ of the conception and birth of all the fables and phantasmagoria of all nations and all individuals?

It was not, in fact, merely the representation of spirits, and their influence on the physical and spiritual nature of man that Christianity has transmitted from the East, but the various species of magic were a heritage from the earliest times from Egypt, the fatherland of magic. Astrology, the casting of nativities, exorcism, are mentioned by Isaiah. "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee,"—Isaiah, xvii. 12, 13.

The court magicians of Pharaoh are acknowledged to be real magicians, who turned water into blood, and made frogs and all sorts of vermin appear. How beautifully Isaiah makes answer to this:—"And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? from the living to the dead?"—Isaiah, viii. 19.

Very extraordinary things took place in those times during the exorcism of spirits, and especially in remote places; and equally extraordinary ones occurred in the attempts of female sorcerers, as in that of the Witch of Endor in Samuel, xviii. 7. The penal laws of Moses speak expressly of such women. "A witch thou shalt not suffer to live." Of such men and women togther:—"If a man or a woman be a sorcerer or an astrologer, they shall die the death."

We will now see how the belief in spirits and in sorcery gradually shaped and completed itself in Christianity, till it finally issued in superstition and unbelief in the witch-period of the Middle Ages.

In the early period of Christianity, men made little difference between the natural and the supernatural. Everything extraordinary was to them magical, or everything miraculous was a demoniac or theistic event. The laws of nature were not understood, and almost everything

unusual, therefore, belonged to the sphere of miracle, which every one explained according to his own ideas. The chief opposition of the heathen, however, originated in the fact that the Christians represented the heathen gods altogether as evil spirits, who occasioned trouble and crime, and, indeed, asserted that the devil, enraged that his kingdom was overthrown by Christ, endeavoured to revenge himself by stirring up all the demon hosts and all heathendom in hostility to it. See Münscher's History of Dogmas; Meyer's Historia diaboli, seu comment. de diaboli malorumque spirituum existentia," etc. Tübingen, 1780.

"Demons," says Tatian (Orat. ad Græc.), "are the founders of idolatry; and to satisfy their pride, allow themselves to be worshipped by the heathens as gods." He styles the devil *προστάτης δαίμων*. From them proceed all the miracles that are necessary for the authentication of idolatry; and they are the originators of oracles, by which they mock men with neologic-epigrammatic sentences (Athen. leg. Tertull. apolog. c. 29). By their aid the magical arts are maintained (Clemens Alex. cohort. ad gentes). They strive to injure men in every possible way, by public calamities, failure of crops, dearths, diseases, and all kinds of disastrous accidents (Origenes advers. Cels. viii. §. 31). The devil and the demons, or heathen gods and their assistants, are incessantly basely endeavouring to seduce men to sin and unbelief (Justin.) According to their fine organization, they are able to act upon the body and the soul (Tertullian). Justin says expressly, that they cherish the most deadly hatred to the Christians, because they will not flatter their pride, because they will not honour them, and because they are able to chase them away in the name, and by the holy cross of Christ."

In the early ages, people had such gross ideas of demons that they regarded them as beings who had need of nourishment, which consisted in the smoke and incense of offerings, which even the acute Origen asserted (Exhortat. ad Myst. iii. 572); and also earlier teachers, as Tertullian, Athenagoras, etc., perfectly agree with him. The possibility of evil spirits being chased away by exorcism and by the cross was taught by Tertullian, Lactantius, Gregorius, etc. See Horst's Demonology, where is introduced the passage

from Genesis, vi. 2: "And the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair," by which many understand angels and giants.

One daring assertion of the Gnostics and Christians to be found in the three first centuries, is that a demon, or a legion of such, is appointed to each soul at its birth. A class of holy people or priests were maintained, who occupied themselves exclusively with the demon-world and with the possessed, from which miracle upon miracle arose, until the matter became so desperate that St. Augustin declared that miracles must now cease, as Christianity was widely spread, that men might become spiritual and inward, and no longer depend on mere outward things; and he again returned to this subject in his work "De Civitate Dei," where he relates a multitude of miracles which occurred in his time, and especially of the healing of the possessed.

We spoke, in the sorcery of the ancient times, of a glance,—a magical operation without touch, which in the old language was called the evil eye.. The knowing and inquiring ones, the prophets of the future, had their own peculiar customs, incantations, and forms of blessing; and Grimm says that, as in antiquity, our expressions of crying out, muttering, invoking, and abjuring, are derived from these forms of sorcery; for example—spells, female utterers of spells, female conjurors, etc. were terms familiar amongst them. Galdra was called a spoken magic, which was not punishable. Galdra, that is, *fascinare*, to bewitch, galdercraft, magic, magus, incantare, enchanter, to bewitch by singing. A light recitation, murmur, *inmurmurare*, was the same as conjuration; and *raunen* yet means to speak secretly: *susurrare*, to conjure, and conjuration, are of like meaning. One mode of conjuration was by casting lots, and prognosticating by cups. Witch feasts were held on mountains and in woods at fixed times, from the earliest times of paganism, where unlawful trials were held. On the first May night the great assembly was held in meadows, under oaks and linden-trees, but more especially on the Brocken.

The proper faith in sorcery and witchcraft, in the sense of later times, dates from about the fourteenth century, in direct contrast to the heathen faith. Angels and devils were now of higher rank, more spiritual, or of a more

supernatural character than the earlier ones who had so much intercourse with man. The devil no longer dwelt voluntarily in the possessed; man was, to a certain degree, himself responsible for his waywardness and his sins, and became an ally of the wicked one. During the growth of this opinion, however, a singular process of intellectual fermentation was taking place; the Platonic philosophy, unbelief, freethinking, and superstition, all stirred up, entered, as it were, into a zealous rivalry of attack upon pure Christianity, as a final endeavour to sustain in Europe sinking heathenism. The supernatural power of working miracles in the Christians occasioned even more and more the decline of paganism, and augmented the number of zealous disciples. On the other hand, the heathen exerted all their magical power, and exhibited before the Christians the oracles of their gods, their mysteries and miracles; and presented a magical champion in opposition to every apostle and martyr. Both parties vaunted their histories of miracles, but with this difference, that the Christians attributed the miracles of the heathen to the devil, their own to the power of God. Each party asserted, as proofs of their authenticity, the favour of heaven. The contest was fierce, the fire began already to glow, and many writings also were burnt with the idols; for instance, those of Epicurus. Though disbelief and superstition grew, yet Christianity maintained the ascendancy, and its higher, divine spirit rose in the conflict, as well in theoretic as in practical respects, ever more victorious; but in the fervour of the fullest zeal, it could not entirely cast from it the spots and rags of superstition. Thus, Theodoret relates (Historia eccles. v. c. 21) that the Bishop Marcellus in Syria, in the fourteenth century, with the help of the Prefect, attempted to burn a temple of Jupiter, but a black devil always extinguished the flame. The Bishop, however, caused a cask of water to be placed on the high altar, and after a prayer and the sign of the cross the water burnt like oil, and the idol temple was consumed to ashes.

The power of the saints began also to assert itself over physical substances; and the Frankish historian, Gregory of Tours, in the sixteenth century, records the miraculous power of a holy oil against cramps and possessions. On

certain festivals demoniacs appeared in the churches raving, so that they terrified the congregations and broke the lamps. But as soon as the oil fell upon them the demons departed out of them, and they became themselves again (Histor. Franc. lib. x. Ruinart's Ausg.) Thus were gradually collected the materials for the genuine witch-faith of later times; for the sorcerers and sorceresses of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were unknown in the early period of Christianity.

The fathers of the church had in the meantime, powerfully and publicly, though involuntarily, contributed, by treating demonology according to the ideas of their time, and opening a wide door to the devil. Thus, for instance, St. Jerome himself (Opp. T. iv.; which compare with Horst's Dæmonomagie, i. 55), in the fifth century, had often, from his lively temperament, to fight with the devils in an extraordinary manner; once even they heartily flogged him, because in his beautiful Latin he was rather a Ciceronian than a Christian, which afterwards, indeed, he treated as a mere dream. He really believed, also, in his narrow cell at Bethlehem that he heard the trumpets of the angels. "That which had a good lesson for future times," says Horst, "was, that authors then began to write in such a style that the devil had no further occasion to chastise them for their elegant diction." The ideas of Augustine had a direct tendency to countenance the belief in the intercourse of witches and devils (De civitate Dei, lib. xv. c. 23). Gregory the Great relates incredible things of the possessed (Dialogon, vulg. Thomasius, Historical Inquiry into the Origin of the Witch-Prosecutions.)

The first trace of a formal pact with the devil, in a judicial sense, is to be found in the sorcery period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and according to Schmager and Thomasius, in Basilius the Great, who had a slave who had made a pact with the devil, and whom he again "in integrum restituisti." The idea of the possibility of such an agreement existed, however, much earlier,—an agreement in which a mutual bond was entered into, the soul being given up to the evil one for money, honour, and riches. Thus had even St. Theophilus (Acta SS. 4 Febr.: compare with Semler and Horst) made himself over voluntarily to

the devil, but on his earnest prayer to the Holy Virgin he finally got the fatal manuscript back again, at the sight of which he was seized with horror and consternation. Such individual cases, though rare, occur very early, and scattered the seed of the later growth of belief in infernal magic, though in the twelfth century the heathenish delusion of men having intercourse with devils was rejected by the Christians. The magic offerings, the conjuration of the dead, the divining by dreams and stars, were then zealously denounced as relics of heathenism, and, therefore, it was a great mistake to enact punishments for such nonsense, such delusion, or such simplicity. The true faith in witch-sorcery, the cruel witch inquisitions, and the punishment of compacts with the devil, may, however, be traced from this period.

The stories of the flying forth and riding about of magicians in the air, usually by night, but sometimes by day, appear in the fifteenth century, and are of old heathenish origin, and connected with women of bad character. Amongst the resolutions of the Council of Ancyra, in the middle of the fifteenth century, is one concerning women who profess to ride about at night on all kinds of beasts with Diana and Herodias. (See Council of Ancyra, in Mans; Semler, Th. i. p. 138; Fuchs, Bibl. of Assemblies of the Church, Th. ii., where it treats of the miracles of the pagan demons in wells, trees, and stones.)

Grimm, indeed, traces the general assemblies of witches for play and lewdness, for cooking and feasting, to an earlier period. The Salic laws speak of witch-kettles and witch-kettle-carriers. They held their assemblies especially at salt springs, and Tacitus himself says (Ann. xiii. 57), "If the women or priestesses attended to the preparation of salt, the salt-kettles also stood under their care, and thus the people of after ages connected the boiling of salt and witchcraft. On certain festival days the witches assembled in the sacred wood on the mountain, where the salt boiled up, bringing with them cooking vessels, spoons, and forks. Their salt-pans, however, were boiled at night. Halle in Austrian means Salzaha, Sala, or the huts at the salt-springs; whence the popular belief that the fiends rode on besoms, oven-forks, or faggots, over hill and dale to Halle" (Grimm, 589). Grimm also points out these nocturnal flights in

the Edda. The Scandinavian sorceresses are there stated to have ridden on wolves, and to have tamed snakes. Grimm gives, from authentic sources, many interesting particulars of these witch-journeys and gatherings.

Horst, in his "Dæmonomagie," treats at great length of the sorcery-period from the sixth to the thirteenth century. All kinds of belief in magic shaped themselves, through so many centuries, even more fantastically and richly, till they were finally worked into a complete system in the Hexenhammer. The characteristic feature of this period seems to be, the more determinate form and the greater distinctness with which the devil, who earlier had been a creature of the fancy, now pushed himself forward bodily, and placed himself by the side of the saints in all his power and influence. Instead of giving many quotations, Horst singles out the terrible devils of the pious Guthlac, according to his own description of them—"They had thick, broad, and large heads, long necks, thin yellow faces, long, dirty beards, horse-teeth, fiery eyes like burning coals (the black eyes glowing like embers appear more frequently in the annihilating process of the Templars), fiery throats, wide mouths, swelled knees, crooked legs, and feet turned backwards." And now behold the contest with these repulsive beings! When Guthlac prayed or gave himself up to pious contemplations, they hauled him out of his cell, plunged him into bogs, dragged him through hedges and thorn-bushes, lashed him with iron whips, bore him on their hideous wings now high into the air, now down into the depths of the earth, then deep into the waters, or again into the fire-caves, where they torment the souls of men. By fervent calling upon St. Bartholomew, he at length rescued himself from these tormenting devils. The apparitions of the devil to other hermits, and their temptations, particularly those of St. Anthony and Macarius, are well known.

In the eighth century, when people already began to work out the dogmatic system, superstition kept pace with it, and advanced to the utmost absurdity. John of Damascus, at first in the service of a Saracenic Caliph, afterwards a monk in the monastery of Saba in Jerusalem, a writer of high reputation, speaks of the devils as no other than flying dragons, as burning, long serpents thick as pine-

trees, who speed through the air, and enter through windows, and have communication with those in alliance with them. He also speaks, completely in the spirit of the after witch-times, of sorcery by which men and beasts are tormented, by which children are bewitched even in their mothers' wombs, who are destroyed at the time of birth; and of others whose livers are entirely eaten away. Some, however, attribute these accounts to spurious manuscripts.

The stories of witches carrying on their plans of sorcery by changing themselves into the shapes of beasts, were extant much earlier than the middle ages, though in a more undetermined and fanciful form,—as bears' heads and war-wolves. In the Templar prosecutions, the cat and he-goat metamorphoses showed themselves; and also those into other natural productions,—such as apples, toads, etc. These animal metamorphoses, in which a vast deal of haunting and wickedness took place, are mentioned, amongst others, by Luitprand, who was first Bishop of Cremona, and at that time imperial ambassador at Constantinople, and in the year 963 interpreter at Rome (Descriptio legationis ad Niceph. Phocam, published by Baroni, Canisius, etc.) Bewitching was common amongst the Bulgarians, and particularly bewitching of women. Clear-headed men, however, were not wanting, who endeavoured to check the progress of this devil-practice. Amongst these was Ratherius, Bishop of Verona in the tenth century; and his exposures of these absurdities shone like sparks of fire, says Horst, in the general darkness of the time (Extracts from his Writings by Dachery, Spicileg. t. i.)

The power and number of the devils grew in proportion to the increasing numbers and authority of the saints; and we might almost say that the history of the devils is the most interesting one of the time. In science and in art, in labour and conflict, in victory and enterprise, the devils at this period played the chief part in the world, and it was as much matter of faith to believe in the miracles performed by the devil as in those performed by God the Father and Son. Thence it came that people rather consented to enter, as it were, silently into the alliance of the devil than to expose themselves to his wrath and persecution. In the compacts with the devil men promised to serve him for ever, to do as

much mischief and evil as they could; and, on the other hand, the devil promised all possible protection and prosperity, and immunity from the influence of friends or enemies. The contract was generally signed with the blood of the mortal contractor, and on the other part the devil marked him with a mole, that made the possessor of it invulnerable to stabs, blows, or gunshots. These moles the executioners of the Inquisition had to discover. The devil was accustomed to give to the breath of those in compact with him a magic power which no maiden was able to resist. They became mad with love of him who possessed this power, as soon as his breath had touched their nostrils. This practice seems to have been discovered in France, and to have been more particularly in vogue there. The faith in such compacts and base practices continued firm till the seventeenth century. Even in 1689 a celebrated teacher at Jena wrote "De nefando Lamiarum cum diabolo coitu."

Such compacts were also formed on a large scale; even cities and communities entered into agreement to pay yearly sums to the sorcerers and dealers in the black-art, that the weather-makers, chiefly women, and often miserable old women, might protect their fields against damage from hail and failure of crop. In the writings of Agobard, the bishop of Lyons in 841, "Contra Judicia Dei," in Henke's Church History, Th. ii., we find a description of this period, and of the most zealous endeavours to put a stop to the superstition which died away like a voice in the wilderness. Other heads of the church also attacked this general and increasing madness,—as Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, etc., who left many writings behind them, amongst which those "De Magicus Artibus" are most to our present purpose. Amongst those magic arts people of that time reckoned the production of vermin, worms, and maggots. By exorcism, however, they believed that these and other productions of the devil might be destroyed, since the power of God and of his saints was the greater. Horst gives examples from Maynald and Dell' Ossa, how people at Lausanne, and afterwards at Troyes in France, in the fifteenth century, expelled by the bann, through the prayers of the Holy Church, mischievous beasts which devoured the gardens and orchards, but which were

compelled to take their departure at the striking of one o'clock, to seek their prey in other countries.

But not merely were bribes given, punishment was severely enacted against these conjurations; which appears far the more natural, since wicked men and cheats, under the pretence of being possessed or mad, made the streets and highways dangerous, and committed robberies, violence, and murders. Never, as it appears, has the corruption of morals reached a higher pitch than in the ninth and tenth centuries. The most audacious contempt of all law and order, perjury, shameless defiance of honour and good manners, especially in the southern countries and in Italy, were the order of the day; and the discipline of the church was at the same time in the most deplorable condition. The sword of justice, alas! rarely struck the guilty; and the base sorcerers of the time increased in proportion to the wretched condition of the courts of law. The Ordeal was brought into use as the judgment of God, which was to discover innocence, on the principle that God will not allow it to perish: but horrible abuse and delusion took the place of just judgment and calm enquiry. Everything which deviated from ordinary life was set down as sorcery, and every one who distinguished himself in any manner was condemned as a master of the black art: learned men were not rarely accused as such; nay, once even a Pope, Sylvester II., was declared to have seized on the papal tiara by means of this black art.

After absurdity had thus reached its acme, the moral and intellectual horizon began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to grow lighter. Many external attractions, as the Crusades, increase of knowledge, and religious enlightenment, and often, indeed, wit, expelled the terrible devils and the frightful sorcery. The devil was generally represented in fables, ballads, and spiritual comedies, as a cunning wag, who, as a subtle deceiver, carried on much sport; but who by the help of a saint, or the exhibition of relics, or the making the sign of the cross, was easily expelled.

The devil, however, did not long tolerate this subjection: in the thirteenth century he began again to rage more mightily. New kinds of heretics came forth with new names, as Beguins, Lollards, Spiritualists, Waldenses, Texerants, or Weavers, etc. A young girl belonging to the

Texerants of the neighbourhood of Trier, which country was especially notorious for sorcery, was burnt in the fourteenth century, though her witch-instructress and reckless seducer escaped by means of a piece of twine out of the window. Old women were now particularly the object of suspicion, because they would not confess that they occasionally appeared as toads, or that they had witnessed such transformations; for toads now came forward as disguised demons in the arena of witchcraft. Trier particularly distinguished itself at that time, for many deviations from the orthodox faith existed there. In a Synod held there in 1231 against heresy the question was,—"tribus in ea urbe scholis eorum ?"

The devil now first appeared amongst the male heretics in the form of tom-cats and he-goats; amongst the women as toads and geese, and finally as cats. Gregory IX. writes of such toads and geese to Prince Henry, the son of the Emperor Frederick, as "the outwardly evil shapes, because his inner person was overcome by Jesus Christ." After many witches and three wizards had been burnt at Trier, the burning of such people, according to Semler, spread extensively in those countries, quite to the Rhine, so that at length earnest complaints were made in Mainz, that many totally innocent people had been burnt, because they would not confess that they were occasionally toads; and one Ansfried there confessed that he had himself put many innocent people to death for that reason. And now the frenzy passed over from old women and common people to nobles and counts, and they were accused of witchcraft with such unsparing violence that the evil was obliged to be put an end to. An example of false wit, of the greatness and universality of the heretical faith, is shewn by the following passage in a bull of Pope Gregory IX., where it is said:—"Novitio præcedenti occurrit miri palloris homo, nigerrimos habens oculos, adeo extenuatus et macer, quod consumptis carnibus sola cutis relicta videtur ossibus superducta. Hunc novitius osculatus sensit frigidum sicut glaciem, et post osculum catholicæ memoria fidei de ipsius corde totaliter evanescit." In the same vein he proceeds:—"Completo convivio, per quondam statuam, quæ in scholis hujusmodi esse solet, descendit retrorsum, ad modum canis mediocris,

cattus niger, retorta cauda, quem a posterioribus primo novitius (thus the bishop first, infecting the others) post magister, deinde singuli per ordinem osculantur, qui tamen digni sunt et perfecti. Et tunc per loca sua positis, dictisque quibusdam carminibus, ac versus cattum capitibus inclinatis—parce nobis, dicit magister, etc. Is ita peractis, extinguuntur can delæ et proceditur fœtidissimum opus luxuriæ," etc. (Horst, a. a. O. S. 94 and iii.)

Towards the end of the thirteenth century there existed already many books on witchcraft in various languages, especially in the Netherlands and in Germany, the essential contents of which consisted in the art of expelling the devil. By this means the fear of the devil, superstition, and belief in the apparition of spirits, became universal. As the ceremonies of religion were abused by their almost entire application to controlling of spirits, so did the discharge of justice consist chiefly in the Inquisition. In the growing ascendancy of monastic life, fanaticism and the world of dreams flourished luxuriantly, and the phenomena of saints and devils reached their widest development. According to the accounts of Raynald, Aimericus, Param, etc., the absurdities of that period stood on a very broad and lofty platform. A nun named Marcella, for instance, was extremely persecuted by the devil, but the angel Gabriel brought her a piece of wood out of Paradise, with the smoke of which she drove away the devil.

The Arhbishop Edmund of Canterbury was greatly persecuted by the devil, when a child appeared to him with the inscription on its brow,—JESUS NAZAR: REX JUDÆORUM. There are no end of such stories told by the monks. It is remarkable that the visions of saints and angels diffused an odour of sanctity; but those of bestial shapes and devils, on the contrary, brought with them a certain falling away from God. How widely diffused witchcraft then was, is evinced by the account of Raynald, who says, "that in Germany and Italy especially, such numbers of men were seduced to sorcery that the whole earth was overflowed by it, and would have been laid waste by the devil, had they not in both countries burnt some thirty thousand heretics."

It may here be seen that the witch persecution has been falsely attributed to the later Pope Innocent VIII. and his witch-bull; which accusation in part Thomasius and Becker

have themselves brought forward as the most hardy antagonists of the witch-faith. That the process of persecution already in the fourteenth century, when the faith in witchcraft was very common, was considered a valid and, as it were, a Christian right, is proved amongst other things, by the acts of the Templars in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and many writers, as Semler, Becker, Gottfried Wahrlieb, in his "Justice of the supposed Witchcraft and of the Witch-trials," Halle, 1720: by Kohler, in the "Trial of Joh. Faust," Leipzig, 1791; and especially by Tiedemann in his learned Inquiry, "Disputatio de quæstione quæ fuerit artium magic. origo," Marb. 1784.

From this time forward heresy and witchcraft were placed in the same category. Seeing or having a vision of the devil was deemed the same as having intercourse with him, and a falling from the faith. Raynald has a remarkable passage on this head:—"Valde rationabiliter posset ecclesia statuere, quod talia facientes, etsi non haberent errorem fidei in intellectu, si facerent hæc præcise propter aliquod pactum cum dæmone habitum, velut hæretici punirentur, et forsitan expediret, et propter gravitatem pœne homines a talibus arcerentur."

Any deviation from the orthodox faith was sufficient to class a person amongst the heretics, as the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Stedingses, the Manicheans, etc.; under which all varieties of opinion were placed. To these belongs the persecution of the Templars, and their judicial arraignment, which was the cause of the annihilation of this celebrated order. There were two principal classes of accusations brought forward, which had the effect of abolishing the order. 1st. The denial of God and of Christ, in the articles I.—XIII. 2nd. The worship of the devil and sorcery, Articles XIV.—LVII. Amongst many books, there is one pre-eminently severe against the Templars,—"The Proceedings against the Order of Templars, and the Original of the Papal Commission in France," by Dr. G. Moldenhawer, Hamburg, 1792, and a profound essay on the abolition of the Order by Fr. Munter in Henke's N. Magazine, Vol. 5. Without the fact having been proved, it was taken for granted against the Templars that they were enemies of God; and it was thence argued that their external Christianity was blas-

phemous hypocrisy, and that they worshipped the devil in the shape of a black cat like their fellows the Manicheans, Stedingenses, etc. Against these last Gregory IX. had already, as against heretics, deists, and sorcerers, issued an interdict in the year 1232 (Henke's Magazine, Vol. iv.) They were from the village of Steding, and also called the heretics of Osterstedten. (See Halen's "History of the Dukedom of Oldenburg," Vol. i.; and "Ritter de pago Steding et Stedingis," Viterb. 1751.)

After the witch-faith had thus adapted itself to all forms, and spread itself in all directions, it rose to its complete height and growth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The black mystery now rested on authority and law, on the spiritual and secular powers; superstition sacrificed to the devil, and absurdity persecuted the miserable lunatic witches, and burnt them as heretics. Thenceforward, from the fourteenth century, were witchcraft and heresy put into the same category, by which means the devil was kept in ascendant, and was worshipped under various forms of animals and of grotesque idols. An accusation made out of suspicion or enmity was held to be sufficient impeachment; this was followed by the criminal trial, and the trial by the fire-death. It mattered not whether the accused confessed or not. In the first case he was guilty; in the second he was punished as a hardened sinner. We see here the truth of the sentiment already expressed, that when the perception of the laws of nature fails, man hastens rapidly into thick intellectual darkness and heathenism. Never, probably, was the darkening of the mind so universal and so deep as in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; and never was there such a destitution of all talent for the observation of nature, for her language, and the constitution of her laws. All countries, all conditions, all intellects, were entangled in an indescribable manner in the logic of the devil, possessed with his fear, and driven to counsel and action by frenzy and fatuity, by policy and the thirst of vengeance, till the social abode of the earth was converted into an actual hell.

From the thirteenth century downwards, southern France was regarded as the nursery of heresy and the Black Art, to which its location on the Mediterranean and in the

vicinity of Spain particularly contributed,—Spain being regarded as the proscribed land of magic and Saracenic heresy. Thus the oldest relation of the Witch-Sabbath lays the scene of it in southern France; and Alphons. de Spina (Fortalitii fidei, lib. v., of which Wolff's Bibliotheca Hebraica gives a full account) records as contemporary very important witnesses and later *Inquisitor hæreticæ praviatis*—properly, a baptized Jew, that proselyted women, *mulieres perversæ*, in Dauphiné, were seduced by the devil, "quomodo dæmones illudunt fœminas, quæ Bruxe vel Kurgone vocantur," by night into a wilderness, "ubi est caper quidam in rupe," where they worshipped a he-goat upon a rock, by torch-light, "adorant illum caprum, osculantes in ano suo. Idque plures earum ab inquisitoribus fidei æt convictæ ignibus comburuntur."

The notorious Witch-Sabbath of Arras, in 1459, about which time A. de Spina lived, was frequented by men (Hauber, Biblioth. Mag. i. St. S. 85; Cove, historia liter. script. ecclesiast. vol. ii. p. 177); while in the more ancient times it was only resorted to by women. This celebration continued in France, especially in the southern provinces, till the seventeenth century. In the reign of Charles IX. the great sorcerer so much dreaded as Rinaldo *des trois Echelles* was executed, and he said undauntedly before the king that in France he had three hundred thousand confederates, all of whom they could not commit to the flames as they did him (Hauber. ii. p. 454).

Love affairs between spirits and men are, however, of more ancient origin. Elves stole away maidens, and men lived in secret love with female elves. But the coarse conception of Incubus and Succubus is of uncertain origin. although it is mixed up with the later alp and nightmare. The idea of lascivious intercourse of witches is later and of foreign derivation; according to this, free power was conferred on the devil over the witches. The devil was generally called the Bachelor. The witch-compacts had their origin in France or Italy. The devil generally appeared in the shape of a handsome young man, or in a dark and terrible form. The witches also represented him in an animal shape. He was called the Black One in human shape: the Black He-Goat was of high antiquity. The

oaths and wishes of the sixteenth century are a very common formula—may the He-Goat shame him! or by the He-Goat's skull! He was called also the Wolf, the Dog or Cat, thence the Hell-hound, the Black Raven, the Snake, Worm, Dragon, or in the shape of a Fly, as the Caterpillar, the Fly-god. Legends speak of spirits which were inclosed in glass like flies. They were also in earlier times compared to two instruments—the hammer and bolt. According to Grimm, this was derived from the heathen gods, where Hamar, the hammer, was equivalent to death and the devil, thunder and the devil. Little Master Hammer is the same as the Foul Fiend, Hell-bolt, Hell-hand, etc. St. Jerome in his time used *malleus* for devil in a letter to Damascus. By the by, how excellently the Hexen-hammer and the Sorcery-bull agree with the Hell-bolt, for they, in fact, bar the doors of hell, and keep the devil out in the world. The best known marks of the devil are the cloven foot, the goat's beard, the cock's feather, and the ox's tail.

Narbonne, in the south of France, was especially the magic region of Europe, while the Saracens were in Spain, and as there had always been there a number of Manicheans. According to the statements of those times, the magic of Spain had thoroughly fathomed the lowest depths of sorcery; and what the magic practices of Spain failed to effect was supplied by the more irritable temperament of the French, in whose songs, romances, and spiritual comedies, enchanted princes, black charcoal-burners, and bewitched vine-dressers! played their part. From the south of France the belief in magic diffused itself in two principal directions; the one towards Italy, the other towards Paris, the north of France and Lothringen. From Italy, where the witch-mania raged towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and especially in Upper Italy, and where Verona was particularly mentioned in a pope's bull, the witch-fever extended itself into the Tyrol and Upper Germany. The first fires for burning witches here were lighted in Baden and Würtemberg, in Alsace, and the country around Spire and Worms, The metamorphoses of the devil and of sorcerers into beasts, such as dogs, cats, goats, and toads, were very frequent in the south of France; and the Inquisition took down the most crazy statements and accusations as

formal indictments. (Linsborgh, Hist. Inquisit. lib. i. Also Menard, Histoire de la Ville de Nismes.)

Pope John XXII. complains bitterly in a bull of 1317 that a number of his own courtiers, and even his own physician, had given themselves over to the devil, and had conjured evil spirits into rings, looking-glasses, and circles, in order to influence men both at a distance and also near at hand, "nefariis operationibus, magicis artibus horrenda maleficia, incantationes et convocationes dæmonum;" yes, that his enemies even had availed themselves of means of sorcery in order to dispatch him out of the world. This bull contains the commission for the appointment of judges to inquire into these alleged crimes, by which it appears that those sorcerers had little pictures and mirrors, "Conflari imagines plumbeas vel etiam lapideas fabricarunt, malignos spiritus invocarunt, ut per eos contra salutem hominum molirentur, aut eos interimendo violentia carminis," etc. Ten years later the same pope complained of the unholy tendency of men towards the magic arts. "There prevails," he says, "such a darkness, that many *solo nomine Christianos* have forsaken the true light, and have made a compact with hell, and demand of the demons speech and answer—dæmones nempe immolant, hos adorant, fabricant imagines vel speculum, vel phialam, magice dæmones illibi alligantes: ab his petunt responsa, recipiunt et pro implendis pravis suis desideriis auxilia postulant." (Horst, Dæmonomagie, i. 115: according to Raynald, ab anno 1327.) Pope John had occasion to complain, for at that time men employed not merely the means of superstition and sorcery, but actual poison for devilish crimes, especially amongst the great, and at court, of which Tiedemann, Meiner in the Historical Comparison of the Middle Ages, Th. iii. p. 254, and Horst, give many examples. These crimes and superstitions rose so much into the ascendancy, that the Sarbonne, at the suggestion of the excellent Chancellor Gerson, in the year 1398 published seven-and-twenty articles against sorcery, superstition, and pictures in glasses and stones of demons and spirits. Gerson's own essay bears the title "De erroribus circa artem magicam." At Langres also there was a Synod held in 1404, especially to devise means for checking the progress of sorcery.

Finally, the belief in witchcraft reached its acme in the fifteenth century; so that afterwards it only the more strengthened itself by diffusion, and had its dignity augmented by the sacred sanction. The distinction of this century is, that from this time forward they were chiefly women who were accused of witchcraft, after some few, and those men of high rank, had been executed in 1440 on such charges; namely, the minister of Philip the Handsome, Enguerrand de Maigny, and Aegid de Rez, Marshal of France, who had himself destroyed a hundred and sixty children and as many pregnant women. Amongst the women burnt at that period for sorcery was the Maid of Orleans. The prosecution of witches was now formally sanctioned by the sorcery-bull of Innocent VIII.; and, finally, through the Hexenhammer, the tyranny of the Court of Heresy received authority to whirl the whip of destruction, and left the leadership of the world entirely to the devil.

As we have seen, the belief in witchcraft, the witch-trials, and the execution of conjurers, had already preceded this period, so that Innocent was not precisely the originator, but the establisher and promulgator of the witch-prosecutions, and of the now established faith in the arts and devilish doings. The sorcery-bull introduced the courts extraordinary, in which those accused of witchcraft were no longer examined as to their innocence or guilt, but in which consternation and horror followed the accusation, and the punishment was nearly on their heels. Terrible institution! Horrible time! Spectacle of despair for Europe, and especially for Germany! Certainly no other enactment in history can be placed in comparison with this, by which such a multitude of absurdities have been showered down on the human mind—no such ridiculous and yet ferocious historical document.

The contents of the bull of the 4th December, 1484, the work and creation of Innocent VIII., are as follows:—The Pope expresses his grief that, in many parts of Germany, particularly in Upper Germany, Salzburg and Mainz, Cologne, Trier, and Bremen, many persons of both sexes, forgetful of their salvation, and falling away from the

Catholic faith, mingle themselves with demons and paramour-devils (Incubus et succubus abuti), and then by their aid and magical means use devilish arts to torment men and animals, effect unspeakably numerous evils, and destroy the fruits of the earth, as vineyards, gardens, and meadows; disastrously affect both men and women (reactus conjugales reddere valeant), and perpetrate incalculable crimes (quam plurima nefanda excessus et crimina). The Pope conferred, by virtue of this bull, power on three appointed preachers to expound the word of God in those countries to the faithful, to hunt out the heretics, and to punish them by excommunication, censure, and chastisement, by interdict and suspension, and even to hang them without any power of appeal—"ac alias etiam formidabiliores sententias omni appellatione postposita." He commanded the right reverend brother the Bishop of Strasburg, not by any means, either of himself or by others, to make known publicly to the accused the charge against him; he was not allowed to weaken or restrict the power of the said apostolic letters by any means whatsoever; nor to contradict nor resist the orders of the commissioners, let the rank, office, privileges, nobility, or consideration of the accused be whatsoever they might. "Si quis autem hæc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum." The bull is abridged from the original in Hauber's Bibliotheca Mag. vol. i.; and in Horst's Dæmonomagie, vol. ii.

Through this ordnance the inquisitors had an easy game of it, for no one dared to contradict their opinion. It expressly treats of "people who pretend to know more than others, and does not hesitate to assert that such crimes ought to be punished." Thus, there was to be contradiction; every objection which necessity and justice, sagacity and truth, might advocate, was beaten down beforehand; and there could be no appeal whatever to any higher tribunal! General as the belief in witches then was, there were people enough who saw deeper; who had understanding and feeling enough to deny the benefit of so much nonsense, and to deplore the misery and the horrors which must thus

be poured upon mankind. Hitherto the people and the magistracy had only acknowledged the authority of the Pope in matters of faith, but not over offenders of the kind here indicated. Men had, indeed, for some centuries prosecuted heresy, and charged many of the accused with sorcery; for, as we have said, heresy and sorcery were now placed in the same category. But the witch-prosecutions hitherto had not been formally recognised; and the judge might be summoned to a higher tribunal to answer for his judgment; as it happened to the judges of sorcery cases at Arras, who were summoned before the parliament of Paris. The secular magistracy had hitherto had the deciding judgment. By the present bull, heresy and sorcery were linked together. "He who believes otherwise is a sorcerer; and he who is bewitched is a heretic, or a confederate of the devil." Through this change of authority a terrible innovation was made, and the secular power was placed in subjection to that of the inquisitors. No wonder that this bull was regarded by the sensible people of all conditions, even by clergymen and preachers, with the most decided repugnance; as we find expressly stated in the introduction to the Hexenhammer. "Even preachers of the Divine Word did not hesitate to assure the people that there were no such things as witches; that they had no arts by which they could injure men and animals; by which imprudent language the secular arm was not unfrequently restrained from punishing such sorceries; and thus they became amazingly increased, and heresy became enormously strengthened."

Malleus maleficarum, in German the Hexenhammer, in plain English the Witch-hammer, expresses admirably in each language the nature of the instrument. A hammer is made for striking; it crushes what it strikes. Here was the hammer for the heretics, who were held to be synonymous with evil-doers; and indeed, as the book expressed, maleficarum. Thus the witches were the wicked, heretical women (hæreticæ pravitatis) whom the hammer was to demolish, and which we must examine more closely.

This ominous book appeared first, probably, in 1489, and consisted of 625 pages in quarto. This was the original edition as quoted by Hauber. There were subsequent

editions, but they were never translated into German. The complete title stands thus:—

MALLEUS MALEFICARUM

In tres partes divisus, in quibus

I. Concurrentia ad maleficia;
II. Maleficiorum effectus,
III. Remedia adversus maleficia,

Et modus denique procedendi ac puniendi maleficas abunde continetur, præcipue autem omnibus inquisitoribus et divini verbi concionatoribus utilis et necessarius.

The authors were appointed by the Pope, and were styled in the sorcery-bull Inquisitors. 1st. Jacobus Sprenger, ordinis prædicorum et theologiæ professor in Cologne. 2nd. Johannes Gremper, clericus Constantien. diocess., magister in artibus; and 3rd. Henricus, Institor in Germany. They were expressly called "Inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis." According to Becker and Hauber, there were others engaged with them in the composition of it. In the apology prefixed to the book the editors say distinctly, that they gathered matter rather than furnished it originally, in order that they might not be considered as the originators of it. As their authorities, they gave the names of Dionysius Areopagitus, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Hilarius, Augustin, Gregory I., Remigius, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Rabbi Mose, the "Vitæ sanctorum patrum," Concilia, Jura canonica, Biblia sacra, etc. Besides these sacred supports, the following secular writers were quoted:—M. Psellus, *de natura dæmonorum*, Martin Plausius, Bishop of Tübingen, *de maleficiis*, Bartholomew de Spina, *de ludificatione dæmonorum*.

To the book, as was natural, was prefixed the papal bull, and also a testimony of approbation extracted by the fanatical authors from the theological faculty of Cologne. Finally, they contrived to obtain from the Emperor Maximilian, who himself entertained doubts as to the existence of sorcery, a diploma. And now, says Horst, all was in order; and to their ferocious, humanity-outraging regulations, no further opposition could be made. Unfortunate Fatherland, worthy of all pity! Thee it concerned before

all other countries! For, in order to secure to themselves universal and undisputed lordship, to overcome all hindrances, and to stupify all minds alike, it was necessary to have a complete book, which demonstrated from the sacred Scriptures, from the fathers of the church, from philosophical and theological writings and authorities, not only the possibility, but the actuality of sorcery,—should demonstrate it far beyond all doubt; the dogmas of these works must become law; and must receive the highest sanction of both spiritual and secular princedoms, in order that the witch-prosecutions should stand as a most momentous affair of God and of Christianity, and should thus bring the whole human race into subjection.

The Hexenhammer was, in fact, the codex, in which everything was clearly and fully set forth which belonged to witchcraft. Sprenger and his assistants have reduced witchcraft into a regular system, which raised on the foundation of the papal command, and placed under the legal protection of the secular magistracy, must be carried into execution by a few cunning witch-judges, against whom neither reason nor innocence, neither honour nor rank, may utter a syllable of disapprobation; nay, was not allowed any appeal to the keys of St. Peter at Rome, so that all rescue should be utterly impossible, and no bounds be set to the career of destruction.

In the Hexenhammer, the idea of witchcraft is systematically determined. Witches, sorcerers, and sorceresses, are people who deny God, and renounce him and his grace; who have made a league with the devil; have given themselves up to him body and soul: who attend his assemblies and sabbaths, and receive from him poison-powder, and, as his subjects, receive command from him to injure and to destroy men and animals; who, through devilish arts, stir up storms, damage the corn, the meadows, and the fields, and confound the powers of nature. The sorcerers were called Malefici, according to Isidorus, on account of their malignity, because they, with the help of the devil, bring even the elements into confusion. As the witches are more especially the objects of his attention, and as they carry on more feminine avocations, such as milking the neighbours' cows, making witch-butter, fortune-telling, etc., they are the

more numerous offenders; yet are the wizards not to be overlooked in the Hexenhammer; for these have it in their nature to be more engaged in maiming, stabbing, striking and shooting dead.

The Hexenhammer is, according to the prefixed apology, divided into three principal parts, containing various chapters and episodes, but very confused and full of contradictions. I can here only give a cursory view of it, referring for a more extended one to Horst's "Dæmonomagie."

The first division contains eighteen queries on all that presents itself under the head of sorcery; namely, 1st. the devil; 2nd. the sorcerer or witch; and 3rd. the divine permission. The devil is the chief person, through whose aid sorcery takes place by the divine permission. The belief in this is orthodox; the assertion of the contrary is heresy. This is the great principle, which is fortified by a multitude of quotations: to show the power of the devil in natural and bodily things, yet with the profound addition, that it is heresy to believe that God is not the stronger, and that nature is his own proper work. The devil has only power through God's permission; and he works either directly or by delusion. Sprenger admits, too, in his way, deceptions of the imagination, but asserts that they are more frequently the devil's work, though heresy is often to be attributed rather to the imagination than to the devil. If the witches believe that they are making their excursions through the air with Diana or Herodias, it is properly with the devil that they do it, who operates on the imagination, and then the witch, when she is in her trance, believes in the devil and in the excursion.

The second division contains the query respecting the essential characteristics of witchcraft over station and knowledge. Ignorance is not wholly excusable, because people should conquer their ignorance.

On the question, how the devil acts in witches, it is answered: "The devil operates, in fact, alone, as in the case of Job; but the witches are necessary instruments for his corporal actions, because the devil being a spiritual being, needs a vehicle through which to exercise his power. Many have greenish eyes, the glance of which injures. Natural things have all sorts of secret properties, which the witches

know, and therewith perform various wonders; for instance, they lay something under the door-sills and bewitch men and beasts—nay, even destroy them, the devil being actually present on the occasions. The witches bewitch; and sometimes by their bleared eyes. These bleared eyes are inflamed eyes; these inflame the air, and even sound eyes, but especially when these bleared eyes fix themselves in a direct line with the healthy ones."

The third most beautiful and highly important question is, whether in the connections with the devil real children are begotten? This question is often asked in the witch-trials. The question is answered succinctly in the affirmative; to doubt it were heresy.

The fifth question treats of the influence of stars on plants, animals, and men, of course by the help of the devil, whose names, as Diabolus, Belial, Beelzebub, the god of flies, are etymologically thence derived.

One of the most entertaining chapters is the answer to the sixth query, why women are more given to sorcery than men. Here there is no lack of merry monkish wit. "The holy fathers of the church," it says, "always assert that three things, whether for good or for evil, know no bounds; namely, the tongue, a priest, and a woman. As to the tongue, it is quite clear that the Holy Ghost conferred fiery tongues on the apostles: amongst preachers the tongue is like the tongues of the dogs which licked the sores of Lazarus. So there are amongst all men, amongst the clergy as well as others, wicked and unwholesome tongues; for as the holy Bernard says:—'Nostri prælati facti sunt Pilati, nostri pastores facti sunt tonsores.' (Our shepherds are become sheep-shearers.) As to women, it is also very clear; for the wise Solomon gives his experience of them, and what St. Chrysostom says does not sound very flattering:—'Marriage is a very doubtful thing; for what is a woman but an enemy to friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable misfortune, a domestic danger, a perpetual fountain of tears, a mischief of nature overlaid with a glittering varnish?' Seneca says: 'A woman loves or hates; there is no third course. If she weeps there is deceit afloat, for two sorts of tears bedew the eyes of women: the one kind are evidences of their

pain, the other of their deceit and their cunning.' But of good wives the fame also is unbounded; and men, and indeed whole countries, have been saved by them." But the Witch-hammer turns quickly from this subject, and draws this immediate conclusion—that women are more addicted to sorcery than men—from these causes: 1st. from their easiness of faith; 2nd. from the weakness of their constitutions, by which they become more susceptible to revelations (thus, a weakness and yet a higher endowment from God are attributed to them); 3rd. on account of their slippery tongues, and their inquisitive wits, by which they tempt the devil, *i. e.*, put questions to him,—get too far with him to get back again. A whole host of crimes are then enumerated against the female sex, as squabbling, envy, stiffneckedness (because they were made out of Adam's crooked rib). Already in Paradise Eve practised deceit, and showed a want of faith, for *femina* comes from *fe*—faith, and *minus*—less.

The eighth and ninth queries are a sort of continuation; the tenth query is, whether it be deception or reality when men appear to be turned into beasts by the witches? Here truth precedes falsehood in order to make the apparent more imposing. "An actual metamorphosis," it says, "appears impossible, for two creatures of different natures cannot exist in the same subject, as St. Augustin says. But the devil can so dispose the imagination, that a man may seem, both to himself and others, to be a beast. In this case a bodily change does take place, namely, that of the countenance; which the pagan Circe accomplished on the comrades of Ulysses, which, was, however, only a change to the eye. A brave girl rejected the advances of a dissipated young man steadfastly; and he went away, highly excited, to a Jew, and had her bewitched, and the poor thing was turned into a horse; but it was no real change, but only a jugglery of the devil, who so blinded the eyes of the maiden and of others that she seemed to be a horse. They took her to St. Macarius, over whose eyes the devil had no power. He immediately knew her for a real maiden, and not a horse, and relieved her happily from the witchcraft." (How *naïve* and pious!)

When wolves sometimes fall on men and carry children

away out of their cradles (wehrwolf, lykanthropy, kynanthropy—possession and metamorphosis into the nature of dogs and wolves), they sometimes are real wolves, but in others they are only delusions of the devil. The Lord God formerly menaced the people with wild beasts, through Moses. The devil also disposes the imagination to a wolf-mania; and in the first case the devil can enter into real wolves as into real swine; in the other case it is only appearance. (The Witch-hammer becomes philosophical too!)

The twelfth question treats of witch-midwives, who injure the fruits, produce untimely births, and carry children under the chimneys or into the open air, and dedicate them to the devil. The twelfth and thirteenth questions treat of the permission of God—an edifying argument! The fourteenth question is, "What must we think of witches, and what shall we preach about them?" The witches are fallen from God, are heretics and apostates, and thus deserve condign punishment more than all other criminals whatever. As heretics, they are deserving the ban of the church, confiscation of goods, and death. Is the heretic a layman, and declines to abjure his error, he must be burnt. If a coiner is punishable with death, how much more a coiner of false faith! Ecclesiastics were either condemned to death, or cast for life into prison. But the witches, as apostates, were not to escape with life, even if they confessed their sins, and repented of them. (Very full of Christian love!)

The fifteenth query or chapter: Innocent, and otherwise not dangerous people, were sometimes bewitched, partly through their own sins, and partly through the sins of the sorcerer. The sixteenth chapter: Explanation and comparison of the preceding with other kinds of crimes and superstition.

Seventeenth chapter: Comparison of the devil's works with witches' works. The witches are worse than the devil himself. Eighteenth chapter: How you are to preach against the five proofs that God does not allow the devil so great power to bewitch men. Here the fifth objection gave the inquisitors a good deal to do; namely, why the judges, who prosecuted and burnt witches, were not bewitched by them before all other men?—a question which the second

part of the Witch-hammer answered, in which there are only two cardinal questions: 1st. How people are to defend themselves against sorcery,—treated in six chapters; and 2nd. How sorcery is again to be removed,—treated in eight chapters.

There are three kinds of men whom witchcraft cannot touch: magistrates, clergymen exercising the pious rites of the church, and saints who are under the immediate protection of the angels. Of course, inquisitors and judges stand first under the protection of God. Especial injuries done by the devil to the innocent, bodily and spiritual. The devil seduces pious young women through witches. Two were burnt by the authors at Ravensburg. One of them was of bad character; and she confessed that she had suffered much from having endeavoured to seduce a young maiden of the city to the devil's will. Once she had invited her on a festival day, when the devil, in the shape of a fine young gentleman, spoke with her. But the pious maiden constantly defended herself by making the sign of the cross whenever he approached her, till at length he was compelled to abandon his attempt, for which she, the witch, had to undergo much torment. Many such edifying stories the authors of the Witch-hammer give from their own experience.

The second chapter treats of the manner in which witchcraft is expelled; one of the most important and interesting chapters. It contains also a description of the belief in witches at the end of the fifteenth century. There are three kinds of witches, it states: the mischievous—*maleficæ*, who cannot again disenchant you; those who hurt no one; and hurtful ones, who can, however, release their victims from their spells. Amongst the first kind, the most mischievous are the devourers of children. These are the most powerful of all, who occasion hail, thunder, and tempests, who fly through the air, and make themselves devoid of feeling on the rack; nay, they even sometimes bewitch the judges, and seek to confuse them with compassion. They rob both animals and men of their power of reproduction, and through help of the devil have revelations of future things, which they foretell distinctly. If they do not devour children, they yet persecute them in all manner

of ways; plunge them into water, if they are playing by brooks; and make horses shy and start. The form of compact with the devil is minutely described, which either took place solemnly on a witch-sabbath, or in private. In the first, the devil takes the place of honour, as the grand master, though in the witch-trials he is usually styled the little master; and the old witches present the female candidates to the prince of hell. There then takes place an examination as to faith and abilities; and the novice swears truth and obedience. The devil, on the other hand, teaches them how to make magic ointment, and drinks, and powders, for the damage or destruction of men and cattle, from the bones and members of new-born infants, and still more efficacious ones from those of baptised children. All this the authors of the Witch-hammer have themselves experienced.

A child-eater related the following ceremonial before the tribunal of justice, which is important for a true estimate of the witch-trials. "We lie in wait," she said, "for children. These are often found dead by their parents; and the simple people believe that they have themselves overlain them, or that they died from natural causes; but it is we who have destroyed them. For that purpose we steal them out of the grave and boil them with lime, till all the flesh is loosed from the bones, and is reduced to one mass. We make out of the firm part an ointment, and fill a bottle with the fluid; and whoever drinks with due ceremonies of this, belongs to our league, and is already capable of bewitching."

A similar relation of the ceremonies of abjuration was made by a young man who was accused with his wife, and who was forced to this confession by the authors of the Witch-hammer themselves; but, spite of this confession, the two were delivered up to death by fire. The young man declared before his execution that his wife would rather suffer herself to be torn to pieces on the rack—nay, even burnt alive, than confess any such thing; and this she actually did; but the husband himself made the confession, and yet was put to death. "A woman in Basle," continues the Witch-hammer, "had for seven years intercourse with the devil; but God took pity on her poor soul, for very shortly before the com-

pletion of this time she was happily discovered by us, seized, and burned. She confessed her sins very penitently."

The third chapter treats of the manner in which they made their flights through the air. If people ascribe these flights merely to the imagination, that is directly contrary to the Word of God, "for the devil took the Lord Christ himself, and set him upon the pinnacle of the Temple, and showed him all the glory of the world." A good angel also took the pious Habakuk by the hair of the head, and bore him through the air. Before the flight, the witches smear a broom-stick, an oven-fork, or a piece of linen, with their ointment, and they are at once borne away; it may be by day, but much oftener by night. There are very edifying stories told of the way in which these women produce rain when it is wanted. From the fourth to the seventh chapters, the amorous affairs of the witches and the devil are treated of; in the eighth again the change of men into beasts. To doubt of that is heresy. "Was not Nebuchadnezzar changed into an ox and ate grass?" In the ninth chapter it says, "The devil in such metamorphoses secretes himself in the head or the body of the man. He causes a blinding of the outer and inner senses; and the seats of the various faculties are very phrenologically given, as, for instance, memory in the hinder part of the head up towards the middle above, where imagination has her organ. *Sensus communis* has its cell in the front part of the head, where the imagination presents, with lightning speed, the figure of a horse, so that the man swears that he sees such an one. The devil does this with such skill, that not even a head-ache occurs from it, such miracles does he work; but they are no real miracles; those only are wrought by God."

The tenth chapter treats of the bodily possession of the devil; and contains a demonology in the spirit of the Witch-hammer. The eleventh and twelfth are repetitions of the midwives, children-eaters, and child-offerings which were made to the devil. The thirteenth contains the conversation of a father with his eight-years'-old daughter on the drought which then prevailed; and the daughter declared that she was able to produce rain, on which the mother, with a threat-

ening countenance, commanded her to keep quiet. Yes, she could produce thunder and hail. The inquisitors heard of this; the godless mother was arrested and burnt, but the maiden was saved.

The fourteenth chapter explains how the witches bewitch the cows. According to Sprenger, the witch-milking proceeds thus: The witch sticks a knife into a wall, takes a milk-pail between the knees, and cries to the devil to send them the milk of the cow that belongs to this or that person. The devil immediately milks the cow, and brings the milk to the witch, when it appears to run out of the knife-handle, by which the devil only deceives the witch, for he has brought the milk through the air. In a similar manner the witches supplied themselves with butter out of water that flowed by, and especially good May-butter; and the devil steals for them the wine of pious people, from their cellars. Cattle are bewitched by the touch, and even by looking at them. They make for such purposes all kinds of magical instruments, pictures, especially of toads, lizards, and snakes, etc., and lay them under the door-sills, and thereby they spoil milk, and produce diseases in the cattle.

The fifteenth chapter treats of witch thunder-storms, and damages to cattle and corn. As on one occasion terrible tempests laid waste the country from Ravensburg to Salzburg, the people cried loudly against the witches who occasioned it. "We caused, therefore," says Sprenger, "a few notorious old women to be arrested and tortured; and the event showed that we had hit on the chief offenders, for they all confessed." They were burnt as a matter of course. Sixteenth chapter: The witchery of men consists of three principal kinds:— Shooting with bows, the devil directing the arrows, so that they are sure to hit; the enchanting of swords, so as to sharpen those of friends and dull those of enemies, for which purpose they use magic songs, spells, and witch-knots. To the great trouble, however, of the wizards, such men were very frequently taken under the protection of the powerful nobles.

The second part consists of two chief questions, how witchcraft is to be done away with. The means are physical and spiritual. Of the first, smoke is a means; of the last, prayers and making the sign of the cross. This

is followed by a diffuse inquiry of nearly a hundred pages, with learned treatment of bewitchings and freeing from witchery.

The third part contains the criminal code, which was to be used against the witches and heretics, in five-and-thirty questions, or items, in which the whole process of trial, from the arrest to the judgment, is fully detailed. It is necessary to the understanding of the whole spirit of the Witch-hammer, that we should make ourselves acquainted with the penal laws, of which I give the following brief notice:—

The first chapter or query is, how a witch-prosecution is to be conducted. The arrest may take place on the simple rumour that a witch is to be found here or there, without any previous denunciation, since the duty of the judge is here to afford help. The second chapter is concerning the witnesses. Two or three are sufficient; and the judge may summon them, administer the oath, and frequently examine them. The witnesses, according to the chapters three and four, must have no high qualities. Excommunicated, infamous, runaway, and lewd scoundrels were fitting witnesses. Accomplices are admitted, in matters of faith of each kind, as evidence. Nay, in the absence of better witnesses, heretics and witches are taken as unexceptionable evidence against their fellows; the wife may witness against the husband, and *vice versâ*, and the children against their parents. According to the fifth chapter, enemies, when they are not mortal enemies, that is, through attempts upon life, are admitted as half witnesses; and if they agree in their evidence wholly with another they two make a whole witness. For instance, Michael's Eliza says that Peter's Barbara has quarrelled with her, and bewitched her child—a half witness. Another man bears testimony that Peter's Barbara seven years before took away the milk of his cow—a whole witness. Barbara is convicted of witchcraft, and burnt.

The sixth chapter teaches how the prosecution was to be conducted. Here come all sorts of interesting and most important questions which are addressed to the accused. As, whether she confessed that she was a witch? Why she let herself be seen in the field or the stall? Why she touched the cow, which thereupon became ill? Why

her cow gave more milk than three or four of other people's?

Seventh chapter:—Whether the accused was to be regarded as a witch? Eighth chapter:—How the witches were to be arrested? And in this particular it is most important to take care that the prisoner does not touch the ground, or she might, by her witchcraft, liberate herself. On this account witches at a later day, according to Horst, were suspended in the witch-tower at Lindheim, and there burnt. Ninth and tenth chapters:—Detail further proceedings with the prisoner. Whether a defence was to be allowed? What may happen under the circumstances—but the affair is delicate. If an advocate defended his client beyond what was requisite, whether it was not reasonable that he too should be considered guilty; for he is a patron of witches and heretics. (No wonder that there was no great zeal shown in defending those accused.) Eleventh and twelfth chapters:—Proceedings with unknown names, and by enemies. Here all sorts of cunning and juridical artifices were allowed. Thirteenth chapter:—What the judge has to notice in the audience of the torture-chamber. Witches who have given themselves up for years, body and soul, to the devil (who, in fact, have been afflicted with cramps and convulsions), are made by him so insensible to pain on the rack, that they rather allow themselves to be torn to pieces than confess. Others, who were not so true, he ceased to torture. Such were easy to bring to confession. (The unhappy sensitive ones preferred death to the rack.) Fourteenth chapter:—Upon torture and the mode of racking;—very instructive! For instance: In order to bring the accused to voluntary confession, you may promise her her life; which promise, however, may afterwards be withdrawn. If the witch does not confess the first day, the torture to be continued the second and third days. But here the difference between continuing and repeating is important. The torture may not be continued without fresh evidence; but it may be repeated according to judgment. For instance, the judge announces after the first torture: "We condemn thee to be again tortured to-morrow." Fifteenth chapter:—Continuance of the discovery of a witch by her marks. Here, amongst other signs, weep-

ing is one. It is a damning thing if an accused, on being brought up, cannot at once shed tears. The clergy and judges lay their hands on the head of the accused, and adjure her by the hot tears of the most glorified Virgin, that in case of her innocence she shed abundant tears in the name of God the Father. (Who now will only believe on God, and not on the devil too?) It was found by experience that the more a witch was adjured, the less she could weep. Further, the judge must be careful in touching the witch that he carry upon his person consecrated herbs and salt; and he must not look directly at her; for after looking at the accused, the judges lost all power of condemning them, and set them at liberty! The witches were, therefore, carried backwards into the room. The witches must also have all their hair shorn off; for without this foresight many cannot be brought to confession. In Germany this shaving was denounced as disgraceful, as the Witch-hammer complains. In other countries less resistance was made. When even pity was reduced to silence, indignation against the breach of morals and decency aroused the German breast, and became loud.

Sixteenth chapter:—Continuation. Seventeenth chapter:—Means of purification on the part of the witches, and the fire-proof. The fire-proof is opposed, because there are herbs which defend against the fire, which the witches knew; and the devil can make them insensible to the effect of hot iron. Eighteenth chapter:—On how many kinds of suspicion the judgment of death may be awarded. Twentieth chapter to the three-and-twentieth:—On questioning and judging notorious witches, of which sufficient has already been seen in the preceding chapters. Five-and-twentieth:—Here the grey witch-cloaks present themselves, in which the witches must, in all cases, do penance before the doors of the church. It was a wide, grey cloak, like a monk's cloak, only without a cape, with saffron-coloured crosses of three hands long and two broad. Six- and Seven-and-twentieth chapters:—The mode of proceeding with a heretic who has confessed, but afterwards has returned to the church. Twenty-eighth:—But how, when a repentant heretic again apostatises, he shall be dealt with. Twenty-ninth to the thirty-third chapter:—Similar questions as to confession, and the then

denying of confession: of avoiding temptation. Of caution in the proceedings against persons who have been accused by witches already tried and burnt, because the devil often spoke out in them. (Nearly the only trace of humanity in the whole work.) Thirty-fourth chapter:—How to proceed with a witch who has actually employed magic means,—as midwives and shooters. Finally, thirty-fifth chapter:—How sorcerers and witches are to be dealt with who appeal to a higher tribunal. This appeal must be opposed; and if it sometimes please the judge to allow of it, he is under no necessity to hasten the proceedings.

These brief indications of the contents of the Witch-hammer are all of an essential character, and may serve us as a little abridgment of the history of the faith and legal practice of that time, and especially as it regards the witch-prosecutions, on which, therefore, we may be more concise.

The bull of Innocent VIII. opened a wide door to the most terrific tyranny of past ages; body and life, honour and estate, were given up as a prey to the will of ignorant and fanatic wizards, so that no one was any longer safe in his house, nor even in his sleep and dreams. We have here certainly an unexampled reign of terror, for the bull and the Witch-hammer were not of an evanescent nature, but their influence continued operating for ages both on Catholics and Protestants, so that all conditions and both sexes suffered under a chronic bewilderment of mind, and were affected, as it were, by a universal mania. But if we calmly consider that in history, as in nature, everything has a fixed, certain course prescribed by certain laws, as we have already shown, we shall see that this was also, as it were, a natural development of the time. Pope Innocent, who had assumed this name at Fleury, undoubtedly because he wished it to indicate what he really desired to be, has been denounced by later, and especially by Protestant writers, as "a scandalous hypocrite," and his bull as "a cursed war-song of hell;" the inquisitors as hangman's slaves, rabid jailers, blood-thirsty monsters, etc. Pope Innocent was the child of the time. Witchcraft had grown up long before him; prosecutions of heretics and witches had been carried on; but what the Papal throne had not yet accomplished—that of setting its principle of sacerdotal authority above the secular power—

Innocent effected. Witchcraft and heresy had long been judged to be twin-sisters, and the devil as the universal enemy, who was the soul and mainspring of the system. The spiritual power deemed itself bound to proclaim eternal war against him; and it was thought that success was the most certain if they seized on his allies and destroyed them. And the accusation which was made against Innocent could only have been justly founded if the Pope had not participated in the general belief, if he had been wiser than his time, and really seen that the heretics were no allies whatever of the devil, and that the witches were no heretics.

The idea of witchcraft was a disease of the time; and who shall assert that in such a general condition of ignorance and bewilderment there were not reckless and base men enow who invented all sorts of stratagems in order to speculate on the health, the properties, and the lives of others, and to make their own fortunes on their ruin? who, contrary to all law and order, contrary to morals and decency, took the field, and to whom the Holiest and his servants were a stumbling-block? The question then was, whence was help to arise? A few sagacious and well-meaning persons might preach and teach, but their voices were lost in the wilderness. The secular magistracy was destitute of the knowledge and understanding to detect mere lies and deceit,—what was human and what devilish. They had no influence on public opinion, nor even on faith. Did not these concern the ecclesiastical power, which possessed the greatest rank, consideration, and knowledge? did it not behove the head of the Church to discover some means of putting a stop to the universal evil and corruption? The will is one thing, and the consequence of the act is another. Who shall declare that Innocent did not really desire the good of mankind, although his bull produced so much abuse, so much calamity and misery? That which is really wonderful lies rather in the Witch-hammer than in the bull; wonderful is it how such a medley of nonsense, of theologic, sophistical, and juridical silliness, should become the general code of law for four centuries; for, till the end of the seventeenth century, witch-prosecutions were still in progress, and the death-fires were not extinguished. A hundred and fifty years after the Reformation, even amongst jurists in general, the same belief in witches still

continued as in the Witch-hammer, of which the last edition of Carpzov's Criminal Practice of 1758 affords evidence,—"B. Carpzovii practica nova rerum criminalium, editio Boehmer, 3 vols. fol."

The cause of this long-continued effect lay in the prevalence of the religious faith, which in both Catholics and Protestants continued the same on this head. With both, demonology stood on the same basis,—namely, the devilish; they believed that the devil possessed an unspeakably great, at least as great a power as God himself; or that God permitted this to him; permitted him to seduce men, to possess and to bewitch them. Now man is in nothing so slow as in adopting heartily a new faith; and, once adopted, he is equally slow in yielding it up again, whether his faith be rooted in fact or in mere appearance. And as now the voices of the superior few, however urgent, convincing, and well-meant they might be, fell on deaf ears, and only rarely found attention or acquiescence, it is easy to perceive by what slow degrees and with what labour the mind was opened, and the understanding enlightened by the light of truth. This was only possible to be effected very gradually, both as regarded religious errors and the laws of natural phenomena. In this department a great number of natural philosophers, theologists, and men learned in the law, have in mutual action and reaction won a deathless renown by the cure of the witch-mania and absurdity, by breaking the bonds of sorcery, teaching us to discriminate between witchcraft and the operations of nature, and, in a word, bringing the witch-mania to an end. Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Bacon, Wier, Becker, Thomasius, Spee, Molitor, Tartaretti, Reginald Scott, Dell' Ossa, Reiche, Hauber, etc., are the writers who, bold and enterprising, illuminated their own times, stood forth undauntedly against the monstrous tyranny of the devil, and delivered over the Witch-hammer to the rust of the obsolete armoury of Superstition.

By the detailed description of the contents of the Witch-hammer, we have become acquainted with the conditions, the means, and the aim of the witch-prosecutions. We have, therefore, no further occasion for a long history of these. But as the magical phenomena which appear in these concern our subject nearly, we shall notice a few par-

ticular instances, by which we shall in part corroborate the past, and in part learn more perfectly some important isolated facts. For this purpose I shall select those trials which characterise their times and nationality. These are, first, the witch-prosecutions at Arras in France in 1459—thus, previous to the sorcery-bull; secondly, the witch-trial at Mora in Sweden in 1670; and, thirdly, the trial of the nun Maria Renata at Würzburg in 1749. The first gives evidence of the demoniac assemblies of paramour-devils, of both sexes. The proceedings of these assemblies, whither the witches were suddenly transported in the night, exceed everything that ever was conceived by superstition or the grossest sensuality and depraved imagination. If the trial at Arras surpasses in legal ferocity those which succeeded, that at Mora at least is not behind it in cruelty, and exceeds it in proofs of the universal belief in sorcery, the folly of women in declaring it, and a contagious, and, as it were, general perversion of mind, for even children were summoned on the trial;—for example, a child of four years old, which declared in the examination that "he did not yet know the reading by rote which had been given to him." Many children were affected simultaneously with the women with cramps and faintings, in which they passed to the witch-dances, and to the witch-assemblies on the Blocksberg. There arose a universal terror in Sweden, and the king sent a commission to Mora, where the Inquisitors, by means of the rack, soon procured evidence enough; and seventy-two women with fifteen children were condemned to death, and many others to severe punishments. Nearly all condemned victims confessed the most absurd nonsense as to their intercourse with the devil in all sorts of shapes and clothes; that they had lived and feasted with him; had been married to him; and that he had even allowed a priest to baptise him.

The trial of the Maid of Orleans at Rouen in 1434 deserves a brief notice. That quiet, pious herd-maiden, who helped and gave to all; the heroic maid, who freed France from decline and subjection; the prophetic seeress, who, in intercourse with the saints, performed unheard-of deeds of martial leadership, and at the same time spared the enemy, fell before injustice and superstition,—yielded up her beautiful young life amid the flames. When thirteen years

of age, she heard in her father's garden a voice, and a form stood in splendour before her eyes. St. Catherine and St. Margaret appeared to her, and exhorted her to fulfil the commands of the Almighty; to proceed to the interior of France and raise the siege of Orleans, in order to recover the kingdom for her king Charles VII.; which, in spite of stupendous difficulties and obstructions, she actually accomplished. Finally, taken prisoner by her enemies, the English, she was tried on the plea that she could only have performed such wonderful deeds through witchcraft; the accusation was admitted by her own countrymen, and the Inquisition brought her before its tribunal; and spite of the want of a single trace of guilt, she was condemned in the most arbitrary manner.

Schiller, in his drama, "The Maid of Orleans," less historically true than poetically great in its execution, has, through the introduction of the Black Knight, produced in that composition a perfect piece of art. This Black Knight is purposely, not accidentally, chosen. He faithfully characterises the inner darkness of that time by the outward appearance of the evil one exercising lordship on the earth, entangling in subtle snares the senses and the heart of man. How striking are these passages in the ninth scene of the third act:—

MAID OF ORLEANS.

Detested art thou to my inmost soul,
Even as the night, which is thy hateful hue:
To chase thee from the friendly light of day
Inspires me with unconquerable longing.
Open thy visor!

To which the BLACK KNIGHT replies:—

Is the prophetic spirit silent in thee?

MAID OF ORLEANS.

No! still it speaketh in my deepest breast
And tells that dire misfortune dogs my steps.
Who art thou, double-tongued, perfidious man,
That seeks to terrify and to confound me?
How dar'st thou with false oracles presume
To prophesy the false?
But, bearing God's own sword, why should I fear?
Victoriously I will complete my course;
And even though hell itself should take the field,
It shall not make my courage quail or waver.
Die that which is but mortal!

The BLACK KNIGHT replies:—

It was a juggling form,
A shape of hell, a spirit of delusion,
Which from the lake of fire before thee came!
He who sent deception will withdraw it;
When it is ripe the fruit of fate shall fall.

Schiller represents Joan as one inspired by God; as a being who performs heroic deeds, but who in her innocence is equally capable of keeping silence, and of bearing her fate till her time is come:—

"Who dare cry halt! to me?
Who can command the spirit that doth lead me?
The arrow must fly onward to the mark
To which the archer's hand directeth it.
Heaven spake, and I was silent.
I gave myself in silence to my mission."

That Schiller had in view to work out in this tragedy the idea of the inward, creative, and divine spirit, in opposition to the phrenzy and misconceptions of man, is sufficiently obvious in this poem of the "Maid of Orleans":—

"To shame in thee the noble human form,
Did mockery cast thee down into the dust.
Wit wars for ever with the beautiful:
It has no faith in angel nor in God;
But, like thyself, born of a child-like race—
Herself a pious shepherdess like thee—
Hath poetry endowed thee with her gifts.
As with a glory she hath crowned thee,
Has formed thy heart that thou may'st live for ever.
The world delights to soil the luminous
And drag the glorious down into the dust.
The noisy market Momus may amuse,
But noble souls love only noble forms."

Hauber first transferred the Witch-trial of Arras into German; and since then, Horst has introduced it in his Dämonomagie, from Enguerrand de Monstrelet's Chronicle.

"In the year 1459 a terrible circumstance took place in the city of Arras, or in the country of Artois, which the people called Vaudoirée: why, I know not. It was said, however, that certain people, men and women, were carried away by night by help of the devil from the place where

they were, and came suddenly to a certain remote place in a desert, where a great multitude of men and women found themselves. There they met a devil in the shape of a man, whose face they never were able to see; and this devil read or delivered to them his commands and regulations, as to how they should worship and serve him as their lord. Hereupon he allowed each of them to kiss him, after which he gave every one some money. Finally, he divided wine and viands amongst them, and they made merry. Then followed scenes that are better left unrevealed, and afterwards, by aid of the devil, they all found themselves at the places whence they came.

"On account of these follies, numbers of people of condition in the city of Arras, as also other people of less consideration, were arrested and imprisoned, and then so tortured and horribly racked, that some of them confessed that they had conducted themselves in the manner above described. And besides this, it being suggested to them, and put into their mouths by the Inquisitors, they confessed, under the agonies of the rack, that they had seen people of rank, prelates and magistrates occupying posts and offices in the city, at these witch-assemblies. Some of these were immediately arrested, and so terribly racked that they also actually confessed that that was true which had been reported of them. The former people were most barbarously executed, and the greater part of them burnt. Others who were richer and more powerful purchased their security by money. There were some also who were assured that they should neither suffer in their persons nor their property if they would only confess. Others endured the agonies of the torture with wonderful patience, but would confess nothing to the injury of others. Greater numbers, however, gave large sums to the judges, and to all those who could free them from the torture; others fled the country, and made their innocence so apparent that they were left in peace.

"And here it is not to be omitted that many honourable people stated confidently that these accusations were many of them made by malicious individuals to injure people of condition to whom they owed a grudge, or from a disposition prone to envy and evil. Besides this, the judges were in the habit of taking low people, and giving them a touch of

the rack, so that they were ready to accuse people of wealth, from whom the judges could extort money.

"There is also another relation of this barbarous witch-prosecution, which is not wholly so liberal and honourable as the other, but is, at the same time, the more interesting, because it shews the overbearing conduct of the judges, the monstrous violation of principles of justice and law, and the bribing and rescuing with gold, etc." Jacob Meyer relates the affair in his "Annal. Flandriæ, lib. xvi. sub Phillippo Burgundione ad ann. 1459."

"In the year 1459 we read that at Arras something very fearful took place. That very many people were inhumanly burnt with fire, for having had nocturnal meetings with the devil, who had given them much gold. Very many gentlemen and ladies of condition were arrested on the evidence of those who were burnt, and most barbarously tortured. Others purchased their escape with gold; some fled from the country, but others suffered the torture steadfastly, and would confess nothing. It is related that some of the judges were so abominably base that they accused numbers of persons to whom they were inimical, in order that they might have the pleasure of torturing them. Others assert that there really were such nocturnal assemblies of men and women, where they worshipped the devil in the shape of a he-goat or a tom-cat, never being allowed to see his face; yet have sworn to obey his commands. That they then made a banquet, and concluded with lewd practices."

Horst adds to this, that in these witch-prosecutions one Peter Brüssard was made beadle. They accused these witches at the same time of being Waldenses and Manichæans. Limborch says that many persons who had been compelled to criminate themselves under torture, as soon as they were condemned to the fire protested against the whole proceeding, and cried out with all their might publicly that they were innocent and should die unjustly! That they never were at the devil's sabbaths in Waldesia, but that they had been inhumanly betrayed by the judges, who had promised them, with many flatteries, that if they confessed what they were accused of, they should be at once released from the rack, and set free."

Horst says that the witch-prosecution at Mora in Sweden was the greatest and most frightful in Europe. The account exists in many Swedish and Latin documents; and Glanvil has introduced it to the English in his "Sadducæismus oder Atheismus Triumphans." There is something so monstrous, says Horst, in this prosecution, that we know not what to think of it, because Sweden at that time stood second to no nation in Europe in the science of legislation; and the trials in that country had never been so savage as in most other countries, and nearly all the public officers and clergy of Dalecarlia were present as members of the examinations.

The circumstance about to be related occurred in the year 1669, at Mora, in Dalecarlia, that province so celebrated through Gustavus Wasa and Gustavus III. Many children at this place fell at the same time into swoons, suffered violent attacks on their nerves, and cramps; their countenances became distorted, and they spoke and raved when they awoke of Blokula, and the witches there. Blokula—renowned as the rendezvous of the Swedish witches, and also called Blakula—was a rock in the sea between Smoland and Œland,—meaning literally, the Black Hill. According to Arnkiel, there was a sea-goddess Blakylla.

The affair made an extraordinary sensation. The cause was attributed to witchcraft, and strange rumours spread all over the province that the witches took the children with them to an unknown place called Blokula. The king dispatched a Commission to Mora, who, with the judges, and nearly the whole of the clergy of the province, constituted a public tribunal in order to investigate the affair on the spot. The whole population of Mora seemed actually gone mad on the subject; and the clergy and judges were strongly affected with the mania. The Inquiry, in which the rack was not the least convincing means, ended its labours by finally convicting of witchcraft sixty-two women and fifteen of the elder children, all of whom were condemned to death. Sixty-six others were condemned to severe punishments, and forty-seven other persons, involved in the course of the trials, were detained for further examination. Nearly all confessed the following absurdities:—"The place to which they had taken the children was called Blokula, and was only known to

them. Here the devil appeared in all sorts of shapes, but usually in a grey coat, red breeches, and stockings. He had a red beard, had a tall hat with various coloured ribbons (a Swedish fashion then), and the same ribbons adorned his breeches. They rode through the air to Blokula; but they were expected to take with them at least fifteen children, their own and others, whom they clandestinely carried off. If they failed in this the devil chastised them severely. They rode through the air on all kinds of animals, and sometimes on men, or on spits and staves. When they rode on he-goats and had many children with them, they thrust a pole through the goat behind, on which the children rode very conveniently. If they had brought many children with them, these were often in returning obliged to ease themselves in the air, and what fell from them was aurora-coloured, and was often found in the cabbage garden (a moist fungus), and that is the true witch-butter. On Blokula every witch must cut her finger, and write her name in the devil's book with her blood. Then the devil cited a clergyman, and caused himself to be baptized. This done, he gave them a litttle purse containing the filings of church bells, and this they were to fling into the water, saying, "As these filings will never come to the bell again, so may my soul never come to heaven." After which the banquet began; and the devil treated them to cabbage broth, bacon, oatmeal-porridge, milk, butter, and cheese (pure Swedish dishes). After the banquet there was a dance, in which there arose contentions and often blows. When the devil was in a right merry humour, he caused all the witches to ride about on poles; then he suddenly plucked the poles away from between their legs, and beat them on the back with them till they often went home with their backs all black and blue, at which he laughed till his sides shook. He sometimes also cudgelled the children at these merry-makings, so that they became miserable and sickly in consequence. But sometimes the devil was very gracious, and played all kind of beautiful pieces on the harp, and took those witches with whom he was most pleased aside with him. All confessed to the same intercourse with the devil, and to having had children by him; but not real children, only lizards, snakes, and toads. Sometimes they said the devil was ill, and then the witches must open a vein for

him, and put on cupping-glasses. Yes, sometimes he was even at the point of death, on which there was great lamentation on Blokula."

Just as edifying were the questions of the judges,—for instance, whether they were quite certain that they were carried off by the devil; or whether he only appeared to them in swoons or dreams; and whether he went up the chimney or through the closed windows; to which the witches often gave admirably befitting answers.

The celebrated witch-trial at Marbois, in England, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, may be cited as a parallel to that of Mora. In memory of this barbarous trial, there continued to be a sermon annually preached at Huntingdon against witchcraft, down to the eighteenth century. But England is the country, as we have already stated, where haunting spectres were always at home. Witches were equally prevalent, and transcended those of other countries no less in power than in folly. Thus the female sex was here, earlier than in other countries, dreaded on account of witchcraft. Before the coronation of Richard Cœur de Lion, it was proclaimed that neither Jews nor women should be present at it (see Hume's History of England). The Jews, undoubtedly, were forbidden, on account of their having crucified Christ; the women because they were suspected of witchcraft.

In the year 1303 a bishop of Coventry was accused at Rome of a series of crimes, and amongst others, "quod diabolo homagium fecerat et eum fuerit osculatus in tergo." Boniface VIII. acquitted him. The same accusation was made against the later witches. James I. was so devoted to the devil and to witchcraft that he wrote a Demonology, in which he stood forward as the defender of witches against one of his own subjects, Reginald Scott, and against Joh. Wier. This royal production is in form and contents very like the Witch-hammer. A witch had given him instruction, for which he gave her her life; and witchcraft was, therefore, quite the *mode* at his court. The witch-trial at Marlborough was, for the most part, a consequence of this. The Incubus and Succubus then had a king for their champion, who proved the reality of such things from the Scriptures. In respect to the amorous devils,

there were many names for them,—fairies, fays, peri, and elves. According to Sir Walter Scott, they retained these names all the longer because they had a mixture of Greek, oriental, and Teutonic ideas in them, and because the Witch-hammer was not able then to reduce them all to one repulsive form, as in Germany. Yet even the fairies did not fail to kindle fires at the stake. Thus, according to Hippert, in his History of Spiritual Life, a plethorically sick woman had probably continual visions both sleeping and waking, in which she associated with the queen of the elves and with the good neighbours. In such visions she saw her cousin Simpson, whom the elves had carried away into the mountains. She received an ointment from the elves which healed every disease; and the Bishop of St. Andrew's did not despise the emolument from it. In the criminal indictment against her, it is stated, that as she and some other persons had been ill, and had lain in bed, a man clothed in green came to them (green is the colour of fairies and elves), who promised her a cure in return for her fidelity to him. She cried out, however, four times, but as no one came, she declared her acquiescence, on the assurance that he came in God's name; on which he took his leave. Another time, it was said, he came as a jolly fellow, in company with men and women; but she crossed herself, and remained with them, and was entertained with music and feasting. She had seen the Good Neighbours prepare the ointment over the fire. This woman was ultimately burnt as a witch.

The Deasil of the English is celebrated from antiquity. Like the magic circle of the Druids. The Deasil was a circle in which a person with certain solemn ceremonies ran three times round, following the course of the sun. By this circumgyration it happened, as with the Schamans, that the performer fell into ecstasy, and foretold hidden things. Second-sight was also communicated to others by Deasil-running, especially when it took place in haunted ground, or in a mystic mood of mind.

One of the most remarkable witch-trials in Denmark was at Kioge, where one of the most singular inquiries, amongst others, was about the "membrum virile diaboli." In Germany great witch-prosecutions were introduced into Trier, Cologne, Baden, Bamberg, in various places of Upper

Germany; in the dominions of the Princes and Counts, and also into the free cities. But the reader must pardon passing over many things with which he is already acquainted. I refer him for more details to Hauber and Horst.

The last trial in Germany was that of the nun, Maria Renata, at Würzburg, in 1749. The last witch was executed at Clarus. I will shortly relate the history of this tragedy from "The Christian Address at the burning of Maria Renata, of the convent of Unterzell, who was burnt on the 21st of June, 1749; which address was delivered to a numerous multitude, and afterwards printed by command of the authorities."

Maria Renata was born at Munich, and as a child of six or seven years old went into the neighbourhood of Linz, and was seduced to witchcraft by an officer, in whom the devil was probably embodied; and as hell cannot endure the name of Maria, she was called Emma Renata,—my new-born one. At twelve years old she had reached such a pitch, that she took the first rank at the assemblies of the prince of darkness. At the age of nineteen, probably against her will, she was placed in the convent of Unterzell near Würzburg, celebrated for its good discipline, where, on account of her apparent piety, she was placed over the other nuns as sub-prioress. Renata passed fifty years in the convent, during which time, by the special providence of God, she was prevented, according to her own communications, from injuring the souls of any of the sisters. Satan, therefore, enraged, tormented the bodies of these ladies, and they suffered in that convent, as in most others, especially from spasms. Renata endeavoured to heal four of the nuns, partly by magical breathing on them, and partly by roots and herbs of magic power. She, however, bewitched several infernal spirits into five other, together with a lay-sister. On account of all these circumstances, Renata was arrested and examined by the spiritual power. She was then delivered over to the secular arm, and condemned to death. Through the clemency of the prince she was permitted to be first beheaded, and afterwards her lifeless body burnt to ashes, so that no trace of it should remain, and that her memory might perish with her ashes.

For the text of this witch-sermon the preacher took, of

course, "A witch shalt thou not suffer to live." This law, it says, is by no means abolished by Christianity, but made the more imperative, insomuch as they blaspheme God and all the saints, for a witch renounces all these and the holy mother, and curses and reviles them. They insult the Christian church, for the witches imitate and bring into ridicule its most holy rites; and in the same manner the preacher makes it appear that they alone libel and corrupt all laws, institutions of society, and morals. He concludes by saying that men must seize on spiritual weapons to overcome and destroy the wizard arts of geomancy, the magic glass, and of fortune-telling by cups, chalices, and bags; and that all must admire the means of grace by which Renata had finally been rescued from the claws of the devil!

With the trial of Emma Renata the fires of the death-pyre were extinguished, but not the haunting of possession; for in the convent of Unterzell there continued to be, for a long time afterwards, nuns who gave themselves out to be possessed. Order and decorum vanished; clergymen and laymen went into the convent every hour; everywhere they sent for exorcists, but nowhere for physicians.

But it appears very clearly from the confessions of Renata, and others, that the possession of those nuns was nothing else than the symptoms of diseases which have always been more prevalent within the walls of convents than without them. All complain of tension and unusual movement in the region of the stomach, of a rising and a swelling sensation towards the heart and throat, of anxiety, depression, and loss of voice before the actual attack of convulsions, which were accompanied by ravings, in which they uttered the most violent denunciations against everything sacred. Such invalids answered, in the character of the concealed spirit of the demon, by whom they believed themselves possessed, many times, with the imitated howling of beasts; they were also very clever at throwing their interrogators into confusion, by the exposure of their ignorance, or of their failings. Similar phenomena I have observed in mesmeric subjects, with an inimitable mimicry and wit, and every experienced physician must have done the same. Thus a possessed person answered Kerna, a celebrated Protestant theologian, who adjured her with the

words, "Spirit, thou who art a nothing, I command thee to go out!" To which the spirit replied with ironic coolness, "That is the stupidest stuff that I ever heard." The paroxysms in this convent terminated with fainting, violent diarrhœa, with a general perspiration, followed by repose, cheerfulness, and a continuance of health for some time. That which appeared the most extraordinary, and which the people believed could only be ascribed to the power of the devil, were, the terrible attacks which produced all kinds of gestures, grimaces, turning round in a speechless state, wild cries, catalepsy, epilepsy, and all sorts of prophetic visions; accompanied by the power of infecting and transferring the spasms and visions to the other sisters; and, farther, those apparitions of nightmare, insensibility to all exterior excitement, and long abstinence from any nourishment, as well as the appearance of pins and needles in various parts of the body, which is by no means unusual in cases of this kind.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the belief in witchcraft grew more wavering, and men began to oppose it with keenness and vigour; and this even in Germany, which had hitherto swarmed with witches, and where the smoke of the death-fires had choked all genuine Christianity. But that which this mock-faith lost in Germany, France, and Italy, it gained in the far north and in the east of Europe, in Livonia, in Poland and Russia, in Servia and Wallachia, where the blood-sucking vampire hovered the longest, — a superstition of the most revolting kind "A vampire-ghost," says an official document quoted by Horst, "is a dead person who continues to live on in the grave; who in the night ascends from his tomb as an apparition, in order to suck the blood of the living, by which he maintains his body in the earth unemaciated, and incapable of decay."

This vampirism had a different kind of penal trial from that of witches, for here the dead bodies were examined and burnt. It is said in the above-mentioned statement, which being official may stand as the type of many others, that "after P. Plagoymitz had been interred a few days, several persons at once fell ill, and within eight days nine people died. All these on their death-beds protested that the said Plagoymitz was the sole cause of their deaths, because he

had come by night as they slept, had seized them by their throats, and sucked their blood. In order to put an end to this general calamity in the village, it was determined to open the grave, when, to the astonishment of all the spectators, the body, although it had lain three weeks in the grave, gave forth not the slightest odour of death, and, except that his nose was somewhat fallen in, the whole was perfectly fresh and sound. They took the body out of the grave, sharpened a stake, and drove it through the heart of the vampire, upon which fresh blood gushed from the mouth and ears. They then burnt the body, and turned him, thus pierced through, to dust and ashes." This account is drawn up from the surgeon of the place, who himself directed the inquiry.

It was in Spain—the western land of marvels—that magic was originally introduced into the universities, and there it first disappeared; to which, probably, the constant troubles and wars with the Moors mainly contributed. On the contrary, it has maintained itself longest in the East, where possibly yet more absurd superstitions existed, where the imagination loosed itself to every poetical fancy, and where the faith in sorcery is not even yet totally subdued, because German illumination has not hitherto been able to penetrate thither: German illumination which has driven the whole witch and apparition world from its own soil, spite of all the arms and opposition that it could bring against it, and this it has done pre-eminently through the cultivation of natural philosophy. The Germans, even in the worst times of witchcraft, set themselves in the most courageous opposition to that desolating superstition, encountering it with invincible reasons, as we shall see.

In order to prolong the career of the authorized witch-prosecutions, two of the succeeding popes issued from time to time bulls in the same spirit; the first of these being the act of Alexander VI., the successor of Innocent VIII. But in the sixteenth century men began gradually to awake; and there arose voices in Italy and Germany against those maniacal barbarities, and that so strongly, that the secular magistracy began to resist the arbitrary will of the witch-commissioners. It was the republic of Venice which first in Italy made complaints to the Pope through the Doge and Grand Council, praying him to add a commission extra-

ordinary to the witch-inquisitors; to which the Pope consented, and appointed the nuncio, Bishop of Poli, to this office, either, or with others, to revise their judgments. When the judge of heresy in Berscia, Bergamo, and Como, had condemned a formidable list of witches with renewed zeal, the council of Venice forbade the sentences to be executed, and would not allow the required costs of the prosecutions to be paid. This bold proceeding gave umbrage to the Pope; he deemed it hostile to the freedom and dominance of the church, and issued a fresh bull, by which he invested the judges of heresy again with full powers. But the spirit of the time was already too far advanced; and the Venetians displayed less fear than the church had expected.

The Pope found himself engaged in other important and absorbing business, and the general persecution of witches continued more and more to relax. In Germany the Reformation put an end to the papal prosecutions of heretics, and in the countries and cities where the doctrines of Luther prevailed the heresy-edicts disappeared rapidly, yet not altogether: for after Luther's death free-thinking sprung up by the side of fanaticism, and again the death-fires blazed up, before their final extinction, fiercer than ever. Any one who now opposed himself stoutly to the heretical faith,—and this took place not only amongst the Protestants but amongst the Catholics even more frequently, was set down himself as a heretic, as was experienced by popes and cardinals. (See Staüdlin's History of Scepticism, Vol. ii.)

Many learned men, as Stephen Dolet, Gottfried Valer at Paris, Jordan Brunus, in 1600, were executed at Rome as atheists. And, indeed, the learned had not always found the true medium course between faith and knowledge, between fanaticism and atheism; and while many of them contended against the extravagant belief in witchcraft, they not wholly themselves renounce their own faith in magic and demonology. The French and Italian schools held fast by that faith, and amongst their most distinguished men Pomponaz, Cardanus, Casalpinus, Cosmus Rugieri, Thom-Campanella.

One of the most free-thinking and enlightened intellects

was Bodinus (Colloquium de abditis rerum sublimium causis, de magorum dæmonomania, 1603; Universæ naturæ Theatrum, in Baumgarten's Halle Bibliothek, Vol. iii.) Bodinus's opinions on Religion and the Church, fortunately for him, were only known after his death; yet, with all their scepticism and naturalism, they were by no means free from belief in astrology and demons. In a similar manner was Cornelius Agrippa of Rettesheim a lauder of the magic arts, and Mich. Nostradamus, the court physician of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici, had the reputation of a prophet and a magician. His oracles and prophesyings had a widely diffused fame. See Adelung's History of Folly, contained in his "Vraiss centuries et propheties," in which it is asserted that the history of the French Revolution may be found."

Amongst the Germans there were many especially who took the field courageously and with convincing arguments against the belief in witchcraft; one of the first, Cornelius Laos, priest in Mainz, who set himself determinedly, as it were, against the whole bewitched host, and demonstrated the absurdities of the witch-trials. Seized and imprisoned, he was compelled to recant; but the moment he was again free he renewed his onslaughts, was again incarcerated, and was again compelled to recant and keep silence, to avoid being himself burnt. He died in 1593.

Johannes Weier, or Wier, the physician of the Duke of Cleves, wrote very freely and luminously against the witch-persecution. His writings excited violent discussion, and were many times reprinted during his lifetime. "De præstigiis dæmonum, incantationibus et veneficiis, libri vi.," Basel, 1563. Also the physician Thomas Erast of Basle, in his work "De lamiis seu strigibus," 1577, operated beneficially, although he himself declared against Calvin.

As in the seventeenth century the witch-faith had reached its point of culmination, and was become quite universal; as the devil and the witches were everywhere, in the field as in the house, in the stable and in the church, in the air and on the earth; as weather and hail, drought and rain, conflagrations and death of cattle, came only from the witches; as the devil ruled in castles and public offices, in the council chamber, and, most of all, in the brains of men, so

also did the number of men increase who desired to set bounds to the darkness of this superstition, and to celebrate the triumph of victorious reason. These put forth all their strength, and thereby acquired an immortal renown.

Adam Tanner, a Jesuit in Bavaria, counselled the judges to use more circumspection and obtain better evidence in the witch-trials. When he died in the Tyrol, however, Horst says that he was denied burial, because he professed to have conjured a hairy devil under a glass, but which after his death they discovered to be a flea which he had shut up in a microscope! Frederick Spee, a Jesuit, displayed a rare boldness of wisdom, by first turning round upon the rulers, judges, and clergy, and demonstrating from his own experience the barbarity and folly of superstition. He died during the thirty-years' war, and wrote an admirable work, under the title, "Cautio criminalis, sive de processibus contra sagas, liber ad magistratus Germaniæ hoc tempore necessarius, tum autem consiliariis principum, inquisitoribus, advocatis, confessariis reorum, concionatoribus, ceterisque lictu utilis: Rintel. 1637. Autore incerto theologo orthodoxo." A year afterwards the same work appeared at Cologne and Frankfort simultaneously, and frequently afterwards. It appeared in Germany at Bremen in 1647, as "The Book of Conscience in the Witch-Prosecutions, by Joh. Seifert, Swedish Chaplain."

The excellent Elector of Mainz, Joh. Phillipp, cherished Spee's memory. He says of him that he declared himself the author of that work, with the confession that he owed to the witches the grey hair which he had in the prime of life; it was caused by his consuming sorrow on account of the number of these victims of superstition which he had led to the stake. Still more revolting, if possible, was the fury against witch-devils in the seventeenth century in France; the best account of which you find in a book published at Rouen in 1606,—"Discours exécrable des sorciers, ensemble leur procès, fait depuis deux ans en divers endroits de la France, etc., par Hen. Baguet, grand juge au comté de Bourgogne." An excellent work, also, is that of Naudé,—"Apologie pour les grand hommes, faussement soupsonnés de magie, Paris, 1625."

The Spanish Jesuit de Rio opposed himself to these wholesome endeavours, and wrote, "Disquisitiones Magic. liv. vi.," and defended the grossest superstition which continued rampant through the whole seventeenth century, flourishing with a deadly luxuriance, so that what war, hunger, and plague, did not destroy, superstition swept away. Kepler, the great astronomer, relates that he was summoned by the Emperor to Regensburg to give his assistance in reforming the calendar, and although he was very unwell, he was suddenly called back again, and obliged to travel amid all danger and with all possible rapidity towards his native country of Wirtemberg, where his poor old mother was in imminent danger of being burnt for a witch. He succeeded, though with great difficulty, in rescuing her from the stake (Monumentum J. Keplero dedicatum: Rhatisb. 1808).

The two authors who more than all contributed to put an end to the witch-prosecutions were, however, the theologian Balthasar Becker, and the jurist Christ. Thomasius.

At the close of the seventeenth century, Becker advanced the nine propositions which deny the influence and active power of spirits over the physical world. His work, "De vaste spessen de volmaaken,"—"Strong Food for the Perfect," 1670, brought him at once into suspicion of teaching error. His book, "The Bewitched World," appeared first in Dutch, 1691, at Amsterdam; in German in 1693. It made so great a sensation that in two months four thousand copies were sold. In the Netherlands at that time the witch-prosecutions had ceased, but the clergy opposed his doctrines with all their might, and defended stoutly the power of the devil and the reality of possession. Becker treated the witch-faith mercilesssly, and challenged the evil demi-god of the Christians, the Devil, formally, to take vengeance on him, if he were able. Becker contended with trenchant weapons of the Cartesian philosophy, and with his less happy *Exegesis*. But it was not merely his lucid philosophical knowledge, it was rather his humane mind, which impelled him to rescue mankind from the degrading madness concerning the devil. The impunity which Becker enjoyed from any attempts of the devil in consequence of his challenge was explained thus by his opponents; that

Satan out of cunning abstained from spoiling his game, as he was in the end the greatest gainer by unbelief. But Becker did not achieve an immediate victory. The Church, schools, consistories, and synods, took up arms against him; and in 1693 he was deposed from his office, and was classed, on account of his zeal as an anti-diaboliker, amongst deists and atheists.

Christ. Thomasius was enabled as professor of jurisprudence to effect more than his humanely-minded coadjutor. He succeeded in doing that which Becker could not. His writings, as it regards the witch-prosecutions, are classical. They are the following,—"De crimine magiæ dissert., by Joh. Reichen, 1701," and more extended in German. "Thomasius's Short Theorems on the Crime of Sorcery, with appended *actis magicis*, by Joh.. Reichen, 1703;" "De origine et progressu processus inquisitorii contra sagas, 1712;" also German in the same year. The rest of his juridical writings also treat this subject freely, as, "The Business of Jurisprudence, in 8 parts." A number of writings were published by him, amongst which the following are the most important:—"Joh. Reicher's Discriminating Writings on the Nuisance of the Witch-Prosecutions, 1703;" the same on the nuisance of Sorcery, 1704; "Webster, Trials for Witchcraft, from the English, 1719;" Gott. Wahrlich, "The Uselessness of the so-called Witch-Prosecutions," Halle, 1720; Beaumont, "Tract on Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches;" Ant. Prätorius, "On Sorcery and Sorcerers."

But that which the jurists and the theologians, with all their courage and zeal, with all their understanding and knowledge, were unable to effect by these attacks on superstition, the natural philosophers at length achieved. The diligent study of nature, the experiments and discoveries of physiology and experimental physics, it was which preeminently demonstrated those things to be mere natural phenomena which had been attributed to secret arts or to the devil. The writings of Erxleben, Funke, Fischer, Murhard on Natural History and Physics, Euler's Letters on different subjects of Natural Philosophy, 1792; the Great Magazine for the Natural History of Man, Zittau, 1788; Hallé's Natural Magic; Martius's Instructions in

Natural Magic, Wiegleb, Blumenbach, and numerous physicians, have finally dissolved the spell of sorcery, and have made superstition innocuous, if they have not utterly and for ever expelled it from the human race.

As we have now become familiar with the historical development of the witch-prosecutions, and the chief phenomena of the same, it is not here the place to enter farther into the theological and philosophical disputes concerning it, nor to take a more particular review of the sects which belong, more or less, to the department of sorcery, as the exorcists and banishers of spirits, the diggers for treasure, and the alchemical gold-makers, the astrological and hermetic mystagogues,—as the Rosicrucians, the casters of nativities, the illuminatio and fortune-tellers by cards, the necromancers and minor prophets, etc., which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were the order of the day. In the works of Hauber and Horst the reader will find all these things collected. The latter, in the "Dæmonomagie," gives an enumeration of all the kinds of belief in sorcery both of Christian and heathen people and times. As I propose to take a review of the most distinguished mystics of the Middle Ages so far as they are connected with magic, and of the philosophical magic of the writers of the highest class, the reader may perhaps desire to have, preparatory to this, a sort of bird's-eye view of the prevailing beliefs in sorcery, as it were *in nuce*. To this end I cannot better serve the reader than by referring him to the work of Grimm, and to its 27th chapter, entitled "Sorcery." I shall here merely notice a few of such facts as have not been already introduced by me on this subject.

We have already spoken of what sorcery means, of its existence and character amongst the ancient nations,—Scythians, Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, etc.; as it appeared amongst the ancient Scandinavians, Germans, and British. We have traced it down through its various modifications, especially through the influence of Christianity, and how it degenerated into devil-worship and witchcraft, with the horrors, scandals, and persecutions which followed, and continued nearly to our own times. Amongst the facts which led to its prevalence, contributed to vary its features, and led to its extinction, may be noticed the following.

The earliest antiquity attributed magic pre-eminently to women. The cause of this lay in outward circumstances. To women, and not to men, were confided the selection and preparation of powerful medicines, even as the preparation of food belonged to them. To prepare ointments, to weave linen, to heal wounds, seemed best to suit their gentle and soft hands. The art of writing and reading letters was in the most ancient times chiefly committed to women. The unquiet career of the life of man was occupied with war, hunting, agriculture, and mechanical arts. To woman all the facilities for sorcery were furnished by experience. The imaginative power of woman is more ardent and more susceptible than that of man, and from the most remote time, homage was paid an inward and sacred strength and power of divination existing in them. Women were priestesses and soothsayers; the German and Scandinavian traditions have handed down to us their names and their fame. According to the different popular opinions they were Nornor and Valor, Valkyrior and Swan-maidens, with a divine life, or they were sorceresses. Upon a mixture of all this, of natural, legendary, and imaginary circumstances, are founded the ideas of the Middle Ages regarding witchcraft. Fantasy, tradition, the knowledge of curative means, poverty, and laziness, converted old women into witches; and the three last circumstances created sorceresses out of shepherdesses and herds-maidens. Christianity modified these ideas, as we have seen.

The witches of Shakspere came together to cook; but they may be placed together with the ancient prophetesses of the Cimbri. But there are other connecting points between ancient and the modern nations. Salt-springs stand in direct connection with modern witchcraft (see Tacitus, Ann. B. 57). There were undoubtedly such salt streams at that period in Germany flowing out of mountains in the sacred woods. Their produce was regarded as the immediate gift of the present godhead; the obtaining and distribution of this salt was deemed a sacred employment; possibly sacrifices and popular festivals were connected with it. These wise women or priestesses managed the preparation of the salt; when the salt pan was placed under their care and superintendence, we have a direct connection between these

salt-boilings and the later notions of witchcraft. On certain days of festivity the witches took their station on the hill in the sacred wood, where the salt wells spring forth, with cooking apparatus, spoons, and forks, and their salt-pan glowed in the darkness of night.

It is well known that annually in Germany there was a general expedition of the witches on the night of the first of May—Walpurgisnacht—that is, at the time of the sacrificial feast of the ancient assembly of the people. On the first of May, through many ages, were held the unsummoned tribunals, and on this day were celebrated the merry May-games,—that is, the riding of Summer into the country, which in Denmark occurred on the Walpurgis day. Such May-games in the ancient Danish and Swedish chronicles are frequently spoken of; they were a great gathering of the nobility for sport. Nobility and royalty frequently took part in them. The young men rode first; then the May-Earl with two wreaths of flowers on each shoulder; the rest of the people only with one. Songs were sung; all the young maidens formed a circle round the May-Earl, and he chose a May-Countess by throwing at her a garland (see Grimm, 449). The first of May is one of the most distinguished festivals of the heathen. But if we mention two or three witch-feasts, that of Walpurgis, St. John's, and St. Bartholomew's days, we are reminded by them of all the prosecutions of the Middle Ages. The Danish witch-trials name Valborg Eve St. Hans' Eve; and Maria, Besögelsesdag's Eve. The people would not have given up their honourable days of assembly to the witches had not these been in their hereditary possession.

Still more striking is the accordance in the places of meeting. The witches proceeded to those places precisely where the ancient popular tribunals were held, or where sacred offerings were made. Their gatherings took place in the meadows, in groves of oak, under the lime-trees, under the oak, by the pear-tree. In the boughs of the tree sat the musician whose aid they require for the dance. Sometimes they danced at the place of execution, under the gallows. But most commonly mountains, hills, or the highest points of the country were the places of their rendezvous.

The fame of particular witch-mountains extended itself

over whole kingdoms; and which are named after gods, sacrifices, and ancient tribunals. Nearly all the witch-mountains were mountains of sacrifice, fire hills, salt-hills. The whole of Germany is familiar with the Brocken or Blocksberg. The oldest name of it is Brockersberg; others write it Brockelsberg and Blockersberg, Blocksbarg. A confession-book of the fifteenth century speaks of the sorceresses who were on the Brockisberg. Huiberg, near Halberstadt, is mentioned as a witch-mountain. In Thuringia they went to Horselberg near Eisenach, or to the Inselberg near Smalcalde; in Westphalia to Köterberg, near Corvei; to Wechinstein,—Wedingstein, where Wittekind or Witte lived, near Minden; in Swabia, to the Schwarzwald, or to Heuberg near Ballingen; in Franconia to Staffelstein near Bamberg. The Swedish rendezvous was called Blokula, and that of Norway Blakalla. The Neapolitan *Streghe* assembled under a nut-tree in Benevento; the people call it the Benevento wedding. Exactly on this spot stood the sacred tree of the Longobards; and thus witchcraft depends clearly on ancient pagan worship. The witch-mountains of Italy are, the Barco di Ferrara, the Paterno di Bologna, Spirato della Mirandolo, Tossale di Bergamo. In France the Puy de Dôme near Clermont is famous. The Spanish Hechizeras held their dance on the heath near Buraona, in the sands of Seville, in the fields of Cirniegolo.

A part of Carpathia between Hungary and Poland is called in Polish Babia gora,—the Old Women's Mountain. The witches succeeded to the dethroned goddesses, and the manner in which it took place was this. When the populace went over to the new faith, there were a few who hung back, and for a long time clung to the ancient belief, and in secret continued to practise their rites. From this state of things, the demonology of the ancients mingled itself imperceptibly with Christianity, and from an union of actuality and imagination arose the representation of the nocturnal flights of witches, in which all the barbarities of ancient paganism were perpetuated. How near to the Greek Diana, or the Jewish Herodias, lay the Frau Holda,—a Celtic Abundia, who was soon herself changed into an Unhold, or unholy thing. This agrees curiously with the tradition that the Thüringian Horselberg was simultaneously possessed by

Holda and her host, and by the witches. Kiesersberg makes the night-travelling witches proceed to no other place than to Venusberg—Frau Venus with her train—where there is good eating, dancing, and leaping. These nocturnal women, white mothers,—*dominæ nocturnæ; bonne dames; lamiæ sive geniciales feminæ*, were originally demoniac, elfish women, who appeared in female shape, and showed kindness to men. Holda, Abundia, to whom a third part of the world is subject, conducts the dances; and Grimm attributes the original appearances of the witch-dances to the leaping about of the ignis fatuæ, to which may be united their derivation from the heathen May-dances. Burchard von Morin, in his collection of decrees from the beginning of the eleventh century, gives the following lively picture of those meetings. "Et si aliqua femina est, quæ se dicat, cum dæmonum turba in similitudinem mulierum transformata, certis noctibus equitare super quasdam bestias, et in eorum consortio (dæmonum) annumeratum esse. Quædam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Satanam conversæ, dæmonum illusionibus seductæ, credunt se nocturnis horis cum Diana paganorum dea vel cum Herodia et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, et multæ terrarum spatia intempestæ noctis silentio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut dominæ obedire et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari."

Here we have the nocturnal women, good, social servants, who went with the witches on these expeditions, brought good luck, performed various little offices, examined the furniture of the house, blessed the children in the cradle; and still this superstition was totally heathen, for the name of Christ might not be mentioned; they were not considered devilish.

We may quote the following as giving one of the most complete descriptions of the proceedings at the witch assemblies:—The devil appears as a handsome young man, wearing feathers, and amorously disposed. When it is too late, the witches first perceive the horse-foot or the goose-foot. He then compels them to renounce God, baptizes them, and gives them a new name, at the same time that he conceals his own. Sometimes he approaches as a mouse, crow, or fly, but soon assumes the human form. After repeated intercourse with

him the witches only receive small presents of money, which, in fact, are only disguised filth. He appoints certain days on which they shall visit him, or he fetches them to nightly feasts which are celebrated in the company of other devils and witches. When the devil fetches them, he sits before them on the staff, fire-shovel, or whatever it be on which they ride. Or he comes on a he-goat on which they mount; or they travel on horses which rise out of the earth. They find at the place of rendezvous many witches, some of them who have long been dead, and others ladies of station, who are masked. Their paramours, however, are only servants of the chief devil, who, in the shape of a he-goat, with a black man's face, sits solemnly on a tall chair, or on a stone table in the middle of the circle, where all do homage to him by curtseys and kisses. He also appoints witch-queens. Sable candles which burn between the horns of the he-goat light up the unsatisfactory meal. They there relate what mischiefs they have done, and resolve upon fresh ones. If the devil disapproves of their deeds, he chastises them. After the meal, which neither satisfies nor nourishes, the dance begins. The musician sits on a tree; his fiddle is a horse's head; his pipe is a cudgel or a cat's tail; in the dance they turn round backwards, and in the morning there are seen in the grass the intersecting traces of the hoofs of cows and goats. When the dance is over, they flog one another with flails or mangle-rollers; finally, they burn the great he-goat to ashes, which are distributed among the witches as a means of mischief. A young witch is not at once admitted to the feast and dance, but is set on one side to take care of toads with a white stick. The return home is in the same manner as the going thither. The husband, who all the time has had a piece of wood in bed, in the place of his wife, knows nothing of the affair. The mischiefs chiefly done by the witches are on the corn and cattle of their neighbours. They milk the cows of others, without approaching them. They stick a knife into an oaken post, hang a string to it, down which the milk flows (see Goethe's Faust in Auerbach's cellar), or they strike an axe into the door-post, and milk out of the axe-handle. Good milk they turn blue or bloody; if they shake milk it will produce no butter, and therefore witches are styled "milk-

thieves." Bewitched milk must be whipped in a pot, or a sickle must be run through it, and every stroke or cut is felt in the body of the witch.

By striking with their besoms or hooks, by scattering water or pebbles in the air, or by throwing sand towards the sunset, they could occasion storms and hail, dash down the corn and fruits of their neighbours to the earth, or sow devil's ashes over the fields. If they bind together the legs of a white horse, they can heal the broken bones of absent persons. If at a wedding, they turn the key of a lock, and fling the lock into the water, and which is called making a net, or tying a witch knot, so long as that knot remains unfound and untied the married pair are without children. If the witches stick pins into pictures or dolls, they are able to kill men. They are said to dig up the bodies of young children from the churchyard, and cut off their fingers, which they use as instruments of witchcraft. Their children by the devils are elfish creatures, and called elves or Holds. These are sometimes butterflies, sometimes humble bees, sometimes caterpillars, or worms. They are called good or bad things—Holds or Holdiken. They injure cattle with them; conjure them into the stem of a tree; bury them under the elder-bushes; and as the caterpillars eat the foliage of the tree, the hearts of those people are troubled of whom the witches think.

Not unfrequently the devil appears in the form of a butterfly, or of an asp. Sometimes the witches offer black cattle to him; and sometimes also their daughters at their birth. They delight to find themselves together at cross roads; they can pass in and out of houses through the key-hole. When there are three candles in a room, the witches have power. They hate the ringing of bells. When brought before the tribunal, if they can touch the earth they instantly disappear. They have no power to shed a tear, and when thrown into the water they swim. "Easdem præterea non posse mergi ne veste quidem degravatas," Pliny, viii. 2. The devil, it is said, promises to bring them an iron bar, so that they may be able to sink, but he brings them only a needle. If the witch can catch the eye of the judge he immediately feels compassion, and never can condemn her.

It is characteristic that all witches, spite of their art and the power of the devil, continue in misery and deep poverty.

There is not an instance to be heard of where any one made herself rich by her witchcraft; and for the loss of heavenly felicity they acquire only the least possible of worldly enjoyment. The witches do evil without reaping any advantage from it, and at the best they can only feel a malicious joy. Their intercourse with the devil gives them only half-satisfaction,—a circumstance which throws a light on the whole nature of witchcraft, proving it to be but the work of imagination, and not a reality. It is curious that in a Dalecarlian account, the devil did not occupy the chief seat at the Swedish witch-feasts, but lay under the table bound with a chain. The witches related many things of this chain; as that when its links wore out then came an angel and soldered them together again.

In Lower Germany the honeysuckle is called Albranke, the witch-snare. Long, running plants and entangled twigs are called witch-scapes, and the people believe that an Alp or witch hard pursued could escape by their means. The idea of the butterfly, like so many others, is derived from the ancient mythology in which it is made an emblem of the soul. The formula which enabled a witch to fly was generally—"Up and away! Hi! up aloft, and nowhere stay!" A northern sorcerer took a goat skin and wrapped it round his head, and said, "Let it be foggy and let it be magic!" Their dislike of bells is also heathenish. They call bells yelling sounds. The causing of hail storms and the destruction of crops are equally derived from ancient sources. As good divinities gave a blessing to the crops, and as air-riding Valkyrior scattered from the manes of their horses wholesome dews on the fields below, so did malicious and sorcery-using beings endeavour by their poison to destroy the corn. In the Twelve Tables of the Romans a punishment was decreed for those "qui fruges excantassit, sive alienum segetem perplexerit." "Rhudis adhuc antiquitas credebat, et attrati imbres cantibus et repelli" (Seneca). In the eighth and ninth centuries, however, this weather-making was laid to the charge of the wizards rather than witches. The northern sorcerers proceed precisely in this manner, particularly the women of the Finns. Ogautan had a weather-bag, and when he shook it there burst forth storms and wind, and wherever he turned his face there blew a good wind. There is something beautiful in the northern

saga which says that twenty-seven Valkyrior ride the air, and when they shake their horses' manes above the deep valleys, hail drops on the bright trees,—the sign of a good year. Thus every day falls morning dew on the earth, from the foaming bit of the horse Krimfari.

Tacitus has shown in what high respect woods and trees were held by the heathen Germans. Probably particular groves and, perhaps, particular trees, were dedicated to the gods. Such a grove might not be entered by the common people; such a tree must not be robbed of its leaves or boughs, and must by no means be cut down,—"Sacrum nemus, nemus castrum," says Tacitus. Particular trees were also dedicated to certain elves, wood and house-spirits. The people, long after their conversion to Christianity, continued to hang lights under certain trees, and to bring small offerings, as even to this day they are yet hung with garlands, and dances take place beneath their boughs. This was called in the prohibitions of the church, "vota ad arbores facere aut ibi candelam se ut quodelibet munus deferre; arborem colere prohibitum." The Longobards paid honours to the so-called blood-tree. Amongst the Germans the oak was sacred, and the elder. In Lower Saxony the *Sambucus nigra* was called Ellhorn, or elf-horn; and therefore the Ellhorn was sacred to our ancestors.

Grimm, in his appendix, and also in the text of his work on mythology, collected many of the witch formulas. The invocation to the moon, the formula for driving away death and winter, etc. For example:—

> "As God be welcome gentle moon,
> Make thou my money more, and soon."

The elves were often apostrophized, but by Christian names, or with a mixture of them. Various were the wonders effected by magic song. Men were killed or made alive, storms evoked or laid, sicknesses ameliorated or occasioned, mountains opened or closed, bonds burst, wicked spirits summoned:—"By the help of an old woman the evil one was addressed." The dead were called forth from the graves. Swords made sharp or dull by magic; arrows blessed; and as locks, doors, etc. opened before spirits, and the nights women passed through closed doors, so both lock and bolt gave way before a magic word. New married

people were bewitched. Protecting amulets of tin, glass, wood, bones, herbs, silver and gold, were hung round the neck against the malicious arts of witches. Secret writings and runes were hung round the neck, too, as a protection for cattle and men against fever and plague. "Inscriptiones et ligaturæ magicæ artis insignia sunt, admoneant sacerdotes, non ligaturas ossium vel herbarum cuiquam adhibitas prodesse, sed hæc esse laqueos et insidias antiqui hostes." The gay colours of these amulets remind us of the Virgilian verse, "Terra tibi hæc primum triplici deversa colore Licia circumdo;" and "Necte tribus nodis ternas, Amarylli, collares."

The magic power of stones was known in the Middle Ages: see Marbod's "Liber Lapidum," 1123, and Albertus Magnus. Magic stones did not come into the hands of poor witches, but their chief strength lay in the gathering and boiling of herbs. The most esteemed herbs for those purposes are the betony root, henbane, deadly nightshade, origanum, and anthirrhinum, or female flose, arum, fern, and ground ivy. The cuckoo-flowers were gathered on the first of May in the meadows. Tasting of chervil, it is said, makes any one see double. The sleep-apple, a mossy sort of excrescence on the wild-rose, or hawthorn, laid under the pillow, will not allow any one to awake till they are taken away. In the Edda it is called Sleep-thorn. Some confound it with the mandrake or Alraun, which is drawn out of the earth by means of a dog. The divining gall-apple of the oak, the misletoe sacred to the Celts, the savin, and vervain, were all considered magical. Often many herbs were boiled together, seven, or nine; three kinds of wood made bewitched water boil; and the witch-ointments contain seven herbs.

Amongst the means of defence against witchcraft we have mentioned that of avoiding to look directly at a witch. You must make no answer to a witch; if you receive any gift from her you must not thank her. It was customary to spit three times before the house of a witch. Bread, salt, and charcoal, are defences against witchcraft. The sign of the cross puts to flight devils and witches; therefore, on the first May night you see so many crosses on the doors. The sound of bells we have mentioned as hateful to witches.

SUPERSTITIONS.

GRIMM, in the appendix to his work, has collected a great multitude of magical practices, opinions, and legends of different people and times, under the title of Superstition, from which we extract the following.

In order to discover future events a house-door key is laid in a Bible, or an axe in a wooden bowl, and put in motion while the names of suspected persons are named. Probably the revolving wheels of fortune which idle fellows carry about had their origin in divination. As a relic of *judicium casei* may be regarded the following: a man who is suspected of theft is made to eat of a consecrated cheese which will stick in the throat of a guilty person.

Drawing of lots was the most respectable and just mode of divining. A very doubtful matter was elevated by this means above the caprice or passions of men, and was made sacred; as in the decision of inheritances, the selection of victims of sacrifice, etc. The lot can decide the perplexity of the present, and also extends itself to the future. Confided at first to the hands of the priest or of the judges, it became afterwards the resort of sorcery, and from *sors* comes *sortilegus*, sorcerer. There were two modes. The priest, or the father of the family, cast the lot, and showed how it had fallen, or he held the lots towards the party drawing. The former related to the future, the latter to the arrangement of the present. Tacitus describes the former mode.

A whole host of modes of divination came into Europe through the Greeks and Romans. But the peculiar customs of the European people, which are not derived from these sources, are the more important. The ancient Poles divined victory from water which taken up in a sieve and without running through, was carried before the army. According to one account, the Normans caused a marvellous banner to advance before their army, from which they could foretell victory or defeat. We have already spoken of obtaining a knowledge of the future by the neighing of horses. The superstitious listen at twelve o'clock on Christmas-eve on cross-roads and at land-marks. If they fancy that they hear

the clash of swords and the neighing of horses, war will break out the following spring. Maidens will listen at that time at the doors of stables, and if they hear the neighing of a horse a lover will appear before the twenty-fourth of June. Others will sleep in the mangers, in order to discover future things.

The divining by the bones of a goose is similar: especially the breast bones of capons, geese, and ducks. If they are red they betoken a continuous cold; but if they are white, clear, and transparent, the weather in winter will be tolerable. So also with the Martinmas goose. "Ye good old mothers, I consecrate the breast-bone to you, that you may from it become weather-prophets. The foremost part by the throat betokens the early part of winter; the hindermost part the end of winter; the white indicates snow and mild weather, the other great cold."

A ringing in the ears, *garrula auris*, *βόμβος*, in the right ear was fortunate,—"Absentes tinnitu aurium præsentire de se receptum est," Plin. The twitchings of eyebrows and of cheeks are prognostic. If you meet an old woman, a woman with flying hair, or, which is the same, with her hair bound loose, it is unlucky. He who meets an old woman early in the morning, he who is obliged to walk behind two old women, is for that day unlucky. If a hunter meet an old woman in the morning, he lies down on the ground and lets her stride over him, in order to avoid the mischief. According to the Swedish superstition, it is unlucky to meet any woman except a courtezan, as, according to Chrysostom, the *πάρθενος*, the unfortunate, indicated *πόρνη*, a happy day. With this agrees—"Maiden and priest are bad signs; a courtezan, a good sign." But wherefore the meeting with a blind or one-eyed man, a lame man or a beggar, should be an ill omen, and a humpbacked man or a leper should be good, does not appear very plain: nor why a walker should be more fortunate to encounter than a rider, or why a water-carrier be unlucky. It is more intelligible why no man would allow a woman to reach him a sword, and that the meeting of two warriors predicted victory according to the Edda.

Prognostications drawn from the meetings of animals have

their origin in the life of hunters and herdsmen. They are founded on appearances of nature and the legendary accounts of the movements of beasts. Still more delicate and complete were the auguries founded on the flight of birds. The Greeks Romans had carried this department of soothsaying to great perfection, and the practice and particular instances of it will occur to all our readers. The ancient Germans were equally addicted to this species of divination. "What bird has whispered that in thine ear?" "A little bird has sung that to me," are become popular phrases from this source. Modern Greek and the Servian popular songs are very frequently opened by flying birds, and birds that turn themselves round in all directions, and hold conversations. We have already spoken of the prophetic note of the cuckoo. It belongs to the omen of success, when the traveller unexpectedly hears its voice in a wood. Birds whose movements are prophetic are called Way-birds. How early these superstitions found their way amongst the German people is shown by the following. Hermigisel, king of Warner, as he was riding over the field, saw a bird sitting on a tree and heard it crow. Being acquainted with language of birds, the king said to his followers that it had foretold his death within fourteen days.

Prophetic ants, and swarms of bees hanging on houses, betoken fire or damage. Their appearance in the camp of Drusus is an historical fact (Pliny, ii. 18). The choice of particular days, or the preference of them, prevailed amongst the Jews, the Greeks, and probably amongst all heathen nations. "Nullus observet," preached Eligius, "quæ die domum exeat, vel qua die revertatur, nullus ad inchoandum opus diem vel lunam attendat." The ancient Germans appear to have regarded Wednesday and Saturday as sacred to their chief gods, Woutan and Donor. On the other hand, Wednesday and Friday are rejected witch-days. According to the Witch-prosecutions the devil appears chiefly on Saturday and Tuesday; but Monday also was reckoned unlucky to begin anything fresh upon. On Tuesday people should ride out and make marriages. Sunday is a fortunate day.

DISEASES.

The healing art amongst the heathen was half sacerdotal, half magical. Experience and a higher education gave to the priests the knowledge of the healing powers of nature; and from the sanctity of their office proceeded sentences of blessing full of curative influence. Through the whole of the Middle Ages, we see the clergy especially in possession of medicines and the gift of using them. But a part of that pagan teaching passed over to the "knowing men and women," who, through the retention of superstitious customs and abuses, actually gave to sorcery the reputation of a curative art. Both witchcraft and medicine fell to the share of women, and from the same causes. A physician was called in the Gothic, Lekeis; in Anglo-Saxon, Lanen; in the old Norse, Läknir; in Swedish, Läkare. The English Leech is degraded to a quack amongst the peasantry, or a cattle-doctor. Lachenäre, Lachenärinne, express Sorcerer and Sorceress. One of the Scandinavian Asinor was considered the most experienced of doctresses. Amongst the people there are still old women who practise forms of invocation, stroking, sprinkling, and blessing. It is remarkable that the healing formulas are said only to take effect from men upon women, and from women upon men. There are shepherds who are said to have a preeminent faculty for healing; and formerly this was the case amongst herdsmen and hunters.

Demi-goddesses, wise women, were possessed of the power of healing. Crescentia received the gift of curing all diseases; according to the old French poem (Méon, n. ii. 2, 71, 73) merely the leprosy. The queens of antiquity were said to have the power of curing certain diseases by the touch. In Rother, 32 f, 33 a, the queen stroked the lame and the crooked with a stone. The kings of France and England are said to possess a similar power. If a woman has seven sons in succession, the seventh is believed to be able with a blow of his hand to heal all injuries. According to Ettner's midwife, he can cure goitre by the touch.

Christianity considers disease to be a dispensation of God; heathenism treated it as the work of spirits, and it was thus regarded as something elfish. Of course, the

diseases of animals were also the effect of spirits. In the fourth formula Stesso with his nine young ones is adjured to come out of the flesh and skin of the lame horse. Hydrophobia is said to be owing to a worm under the tongue of dogs, and that the worm may be extracted. A disease of horses is called the blowing worm, which reminds us of the blowing Hold. According to the popular faith a witch can conjure its Hold or Elf into men as well as beasts.

Amongst the multitude of superstitious means of cure, the following are striking. It was a most ancient custom to measure the sick, partly for the purpose of cure, and partly to ascertain whether the disease increased or decreased; and we find in both books of Kings that Elijah and Elisha measured themselves upon the lifeless bodies of the children, and that by that means the life returned into them.

Next to the water-drawing and sprinkling of the knowing woman is the blessing the door-sill of a house with the stroke of an axe. But another mode of healing was of letting the children or cattle pass through a hollow scooped in the earth, or through the opening of a cleft tree. This it was supposed cast out all witchcraft, or to annihilate it, or to cure sympathetically. If a child did not willingly learn to walk, it was made to creep through the long withes of the blackberry-bush which were grown down to the earth. Sick sheep were passed through the cleft of a young oak. This slipping through the cleft of the oak, or through the earth, seems to have been with the view of transferring the disease to the genius of the tree or the earth: but it is not related what were the diseases thus cured. In the last century the English peasantry cured ruptures in this manner. Diseases and means of cure were also buried in the earth, and especially in the nests of ants. To this mode belongs the cure of epilepsy in the tenth century by a buried peach-blossom, as Ratherius relates incredulously.

This transference of the disease to the tree, or rather to the spirit which lived in it, is curious. Amongst the forms of adjuration, we find the commencement thus:—"Twig, I bind thee; fever, now leave me." Westendorp relates the following Netherlands practice:—Whoever has the ague, let him go early in the morning to an old willow tree,

tie three knots in a branch, and say, "Good morning, old one! I give thee the cold; good morning, old one!" He must then turn round quickly, and run off as fast as he can without looking behind him. The gout must be handed over to an old pine tree. A number of sympathetic means either heal or do more mischief. Thus the jaundice becomes incurable if a yellow-legged hen flies over the patient, but is cured by looking into black cart-grease. Spanning over a can or a bowl brings out spasms of the heart. Twisting a willow cures a twisted neck or cuts in the body. To cure St. Anthony's Fire you must strike sparks over it. Break a loaf of bread over the heads of children that learn to speak with difficulty; a tooth that is pulled must be stuck into the bark of a young tree. There are abundance of such means against hiccup, ear-ache, tooth-ache, etc. Great virtues are attributed to springs of water, especially to such as have been blessed by a saint.

SYMPATHETIC SUPERSTITION.

When women boil yarn, they must tell a lie at the same time, otherwise it will not get white.

Parents must not buy their children any rattles, nor allow any to be given them, or they will be slow at learning, and will speak with difficulty.

When you take straw for a hen's nest out of a marriage bed, you must take it from the man's side if you want cock chickens, and from the wife's if you want hen chickens.

No one must on any account weigh an empty cradle, or he will weigh the child's rest away.

The nails on the hands of an infant must be bitten off by the mother the first time, or it will learn to steal.

If you wish a child to become a hundred years old, you must get it godfathers out of three different parishes.

If you let a child look into a looking-glass before it is a year old, it will become proud.

Children that cry at christening, will die soon.

Let a mother go three Sundays successively out of the church in silence, and blow each time into the mouth of her child, and it will get its teeth easy.

Let the father immediately after the christening give the child a sword in its hand, and it will become brave.

Blue cornflowers gathered on Corpus-Christi Sunday stop the bleeding of the nose if they are held in the hand till they are warm.

A woman can cure her ear-ache by binding a man's stocking round her head.

Elder planted before the stable door preserves the cattle from witchcraft.

He who carries about him a cord with which a rupture doctor has bound up a rupture, may lift the heaviest weight without any danger.

A piece of wood out of a coffin that has been dug up, when laid in a cabbage bed defends it from caterpillars.

One should not lean over a cradle where a child is sleeping, nor should it be left standing open.

Splinters from an oak split by lightning cure tooth-ache.

He who will sow seed, let him be careful not to lay it on a table, otherwise it will not grow.

He who has the hiccup, let him plunge a naked knife into a can of beer, and take a good draught of it at one breath.

He who cannot sleep, be it child or adult, let him lay a composing whisp under his pillow; that is, straw which workwomen put under the burdens on their backs; but it must be taken from the people unknown to them.

In brewing, lay a bunch of nettles in the barrel; it is then safe against thunder.

A wife who has a cold must sneeze into her husband's shoe.

It is not good to strike a beast with a switch which has been used to correct a child.

Chastise neither man nor beast with a peeled stick, for whatever is beaten with it will dry up.

When you place your shoes reversed at the head of your bed, the nightmare cannot oppress you.

Old women often cut a turf of a foot long which their enemy has lately trodden on, and hang it up in the chimney, and their enemy must wither away.

Let any one who has great anxiety, touch the great toe of a dead person, and he will at once become free from it.

If any one dies in the house, you must shake the bee-

hives, and the wine and vinegar, or the bees, the wine and the vinegar, will all go off or spoil.

The first medicine which a lying-in woman takes, should be out of her husband's spoon; it will then be more efficacious.

During the pains of child-birth, it does good to turn the slippers of the husband round.

Three grains of salt in a measure of milk preserves it from witchcraft.

No one must taste the first warm beer which is given to a lying-in woman; it must be tried with the finger, otherwise the woman will be attacked with colic.

If a child has the red-gum, take a piece of wood from a mill-wheel, burn it, and smoke the child's swaddling-clothes therewith; then wash the child with water that flows from the wheel. The wood that remains must be cast into running water.

You should never wean a child while trees are in blossom; otherwise it will have grey hair.

Three buttons bound together with a thread, and laid in a coffin, will free from warts.

If any one has received a bodily hurt, wash him with brook-water while the bell is tolling for a funeral.

Plantain laid under the feet removes weariness.

He who carries a wolf's heart with him, will not be devoured by the wolf.

To cure the weakness of children, let their water be received into a vessel in which is laid the egg of a coal-black hen, which has been bought without handling, and in which nine holes are pierced. The vessel must then be wrapped in linen, and placed in an ant's nest which has been found without seeking for, and that after sunset. Whoever finds this vessel let him take care not to use it, otherwise he will receive the buried weakness.

If a child fall off in its health, bind a thread of red-silk about its neck; then catch a mouse, draw a thread of the same silk through its skin across the back-bone, and let it run away. As the mouse wastes away, the child will improve.

When an old woman blesses and prays the spasms of the chest, she breathes crosswise on the affected part, applies a poultice of salt and barley meal to it, and pro-

nounces—"Spasm and throe, I bid thee go; away from the rib, as Christ from the crib." If the patient is seized with the cramp, he must stretch himself on a plum-tree, and say —"Climbing plant stand, plum-tree waver."

There are people who, through the muttering of a formula, are able to stop a horse in full gallop, to make a watch-dog silent, to stanch blood, and to drive back fire, so that it consumes itself.

In sowing peas, take before the sun goes down some of the peas in your mouth, keep them there in silence while you are sowing the rest, and this will preserve them from sparrows.

The oak is a prophetic tree. A fly in the gall-nut foretells war; a maggot, dearness; a spider, pestilence.

A piece of oak rubbed in silence on the body on St. John's Day, before the sun rise, heals all open wounds.

He who has warts, let him take a great house-snail, and nail it on the door-post, and as the snail dries up, the wart will dry up too.

A bunch of wild thyme and origanum laid by the milk, prevents its being spoiled by thunder.

Moles are cured on the face by touching them with a dead man's hand; but the hand must be kept there till it becomes warm.

Rain water that stands on a tomb-stone will take away freckles.

A horse may be lamed by driving a nail into the recent print of his foot.

If a hen wants to set, make her nest of straw out of the bed of husband or wife.

He who has ague, let him go without speaking, or crossing water, to a lofty willow, make a gash in it, breathe three times into it, close it quickly, and hasten away without looking back, and the ague will be gone.

Young lilies of the valley gathered before sunrise, and rubbed over the face, take away freckles.

The women hang a kind of root on the cows to drive gadflies and maggots, and have extraordinary superstitions concerning this.*

* The author has omitted the well-known practice in the middle ages of anointing the sword which had wounded any one, instead of the

Those spasms which were witnessed so frequently in the witch-trials are in all respects very like those to which people are prone in general; nay, they may even become epidemic and contagious. They were common amongst the Brahmins and the deliverers of oracles; in the St. Vitus's Dance, and in lunacy; and the visions connected with them shaped themselves according to the individual circumstances and the activity of the imagination. There frequently is a chest spasm connected with a clairvoyant state, and out of this arises what is called the alp, or nightmare. Some kind of a beast, or monster, a giant or cobold, comes and lays itself on the chest, in which the circulation stops, and the action of the muscles is paralysed, so that the sufferer cannot move a limb. In those who are attacked by nightmare, which often occurs in youth from a too full or weak stomach, there are frequently violent attacks of cramp, and after the attack swellings, or blue spots, or bloody marks, even in particular places. The congestion of blood in the part, with severe spasmodic pressure of the same, occasions an anxious feeling, and a pain which can be felt long after the attack and the vision connected with it have disappeared.

"Thus, some one saw that a spirit seized him; and after this had vanished, he felt in the part which it had seized

wound itself. From these notions no doubt comes the drinking proverb of taking a hair of the dog that bit him; that is, the following morning taking a dram of the liquor which made him drunk. The common practice of children in the country, when they have nettled themselves, taking a dock-leaf and rubbing the place with it, repeating all the time—"Nettle go out, dock go in," is a remains of the superstition of sympathetic cures, and the mummery of formulae during the process, especially of the belief that you might transfer your complaints to trees and plants; such as the instance recorded above of giving your ague to an old willow—"Good morning old one, etc."

The peasantry of Germany, particularly in the Catholic districts, have full faith in these superstitions. The reader may find numerous formulas for such cures in a book sold on all stalls at German fairs called "Romanen Büchein." This book teaches that Abracadabra, written on a strip of paper and kept in your waistcoat pocket, will defend you against wounds or stabs, and also, if you should find your house on fire, you have only to throw this paper into it, and the fire will be extinguished. See Howitt's "Rural and Social Life of Germany."—*Translator.*

a severe pain for several days. In other persons this part was actually swollen. It is not to be wondered at that no one can persuade such persons out of the belief in apparitions, as they cannot otherwise account for the fixed pain and swelling. Experience shows, too, that men in severe frights swell over the whole body. In those spectral visions terror fixes the pain and swelling in the part on which the spectre seems to seize."

A very orthodox, but at the same time very enlightened Catholic clergyman, L. Phil. Ed. Lillbopp, in his work on the Miracles of Christianity, and their relation to animal magnetism, sweeps away the darkness from this subject and from that which prevailed in the witch-times, with a few strokes of his pen, and lets in the light of reason and of tried experience.

Another phenomenon of magic was insensibility to all external stimulants, which was sometimes observed, and was attributed to the devil. We have already seen that in the rigid spasm, in madness and in convulsions, that was by no means unfrequent, and which is not difficult to conceive in the full negation of the external polarity of the senses.

In Paris, not many years ago, a clairvoyant prescribed in her sleep the amputation of her own diseased breast, and when this was afterwards done during her mesmeric sleep she was extremely astonished that she had not in the least perceived it.* Such a temporary loss of feeling I have myself often witnessed. I was able shortly after a dislocation of the thigh to convey the magnetic-sleeping Miss H—— in a carriage, for more than ninety miles in two days, during the greater part of which time she slept. This clairvoyant placed a burning moxa on the chest and another on the hip of a magnetic patient during sleep, and she felt nothing of it. In modern times total insensibility to pain has been observed under the most violent torture; but this has not been attributed to supernatural agency, as in former ages.

Horst relates that a merchant named Löhnig, from Silesia, under the government of the Emperor Paul, was condemned to a hundred and fifty severe blows of the knout. At the same time another person was condemned to thirty, and a

* An eminent physician in London assured us that he had witnessed an exactly similar case in a lady on Denmark-hill.

thirl to fifty. Löhnig saw the first die before him, and the next kicked away. When it came to his turn, he immediately under the stroke of the knout became insensible to all feeling. He received the whole number of his blows; both nostrils were torn open, and the brow scarred; yet Löhnig, according to his positive assurance, had felt nothing of all this. Heim, in the "Archives of Practical Medicine," relates many cases of the temporary loss of consciousness and feeling in otherwise healthy individuals. Amongst others, a soldier received fifty strokes of a stick from a subaltern officer, which he sustained without a sign of pain, and without moving. After the chastisement, he said to the commanding officer that he begged pardon for sleeping in his presence. Horst relates a similar but still more striking case. There have been men who could voluntarily throw themselves into a state of catalepsy, and of external insensibility; as, for instance, the celebrated Cardanus. Many such perfectly credible facts are related of the saints, especially when at the stake.

St. Augustine relates (De civitate Dei, l. xiv. c. 24): There was a priest, of the name of Restitutus, in Calama, who according to his pleasure, when he imitated a tone of pain, thus withdrew himself from the senses, and lay like one dead, so that he neither felt pinches nor pricks; and even was once burnt with fire without any sensation or consequent wound. No breathing was observed in him; and he himself declared that he only heard the loudest voices as if they came from a distance. When in the year 1461 the Hussites fell under great persecution, a very pious man of superior rank at Prague was put upon the rack. Immediately that he was bound on the frame, he became insensible to all pain and as one dead, so that the executioner believing him so, threw him aside on the ground. After some time coming to himself, he wondered that his sides, his hands, and feet were so painful; and it was only when he had noticed the weals, the marks of stabs, and the blood-blisters on his body, and saw the instruments of his execution, that he was aware what had happened. He then related a beautiful dream which he had had during the time of the torture. He was led into a lovely meadow, in the midst of which there was a tree with abundance of splendid

fruit. There were upon this tree a variety of birds; and there was seen a youth who kept them in order with a switch, so that none of them ventured to fly away. He also saw three men, who looked at this tree; and it was very remarkable that the year following, three men, who resembled those seen in the vision, were promoted to be princes in the church."

Now as to those matters and instruments which come out of various parts of the bodies of witches, there have also been in our times similar phenomena. But the hocus in these recent cases has been too palpable to need any supernatural agency to explain them. These matters, spite of appearances, or of any presumed acts of the devil, have neither grown in the body, nor are introduced into it by any miracle. Jugglers swallow stones and glass, knives and forks, and throw up such things at pleasure, as one not long ago in America did to the astonishment of all who saw him, but in the end died of it, and was found with a whole heap of such things in his stomach. In lunacy and in spasms, people swallow, frequently, anything that they can lay hands on; others swallow pins and needles, and probably stick them into their flesh; and it happens, by no means unfrequently, that the sick, in order to draw the pity or attention of others towards them, play an heroic part, and affect a great virtue in pains and sufferings, in weaknesses and tortures. This *errare humanum*, or hobby, may be the effect of a whim; but it may sometimes be, as history teaches, the consequence of a selfish imposture. Wholly impure designs are frequently concealed behind the veil, and pins and needles are often the very natural means of producing swellings. A celebrated and circumspect physician, some years ago, at Copenhagen, saw for a long time a number of needles come out of the body of a patient, and even helped to extract them, till he perceived the trickery, not through acute observation, but merely by chance. They are precisely needles and pins which have always created such astonishment. Wier relates, on the authority of J. Rufus, that a maid who was possessed in Constance, after violent pains in the intestines, gave forth a number of such things. "Famulam cujusdam civis a dæmonio compressam, eique tandem per pœnitentiam

valedixisse, ac postea tantos in utero sensisse crutiatus, ut in singulas fere horas infantem se crederat exixuram: inde clavos ferreos, ligna, vitra compacta, lapides, ossa et hujusmodi ex matrice excrevisse." People found but little sorcery in the hairs, the egg-shells, the yarn, even in the glass and stones, which made their appearance by unknown ways. The devil seems to have attained his object better with his pins and needles. In short, these things with women are difficult to trace to the bottom, but with pins and needles they are thoroughly at home. Yet in the very times of witchcraft we find these things explained in a similar manner, as a passage in Horst shows:—"Instructio pro formandis processibus in causis strigum, sortilegiorum et maleficiorum, Romæ, 1671." It is there said:—"Et adeo si perquirentur singulorum lecti, præcipue ex pluma confecti, nec mirum quod quandoque reperiantur acus, nam ubi sunt mulieres, acus ubique abundant et facile est, quod per accidens spatio alicujus temporis multæ acus in predictis mobilibus introcludantur. Neque forsan ab re est considerare, dæmonem aliquando talia supponere potuisse absque partitione, ut inde credantur maleficium commissum et sic aliqua persona indebite damnum patiatur, quemadmodum videmus in actu exorcismi nonnullorum obsessorum, qui videntur evomere acus, clavos et diversa involucra, quæ tamen impossibile et obsessos in corpore habere, prout non habent, etc. Ex quibus patet quam circumspectus esse debet judex circus hujusmodi reperta, cum de facili, vel potuerint supponi, vel esse naturalia, vel [he adds in favour of his own times] facta opera dæmonis sive alicujus ministerio."

There were in the middle ages other kindred phenomena, which had their foundation in religious fanaticism. To these belong the ecstasies and convulsions in the churchyard of St. Medard at Paris, where at the grave of the Deacon of Paris people had the most violent convulsions and visions, which to all appearance were very like the possessions of ancient times. They are said to have continued perfectly insensible to, and uninjured by, stabs and blows with pointed poles and iron bars, and under the crush of the heaviest weights which were thrown upon them. The community of spirits and of visions was also plentifully there.

The Phrygian prophets and the Montanists exhibited many phenomena resembling these convulsions, to which Irenæus and Tertullian had nothing to object. But never were the convulsions and the excitement more horrible than amongst the Flagellants, and in the Dancing-mania, a disease in the middle ages, which Hecker describes. See "The Dancing-mania; a Popular Disease," 1832.

The Society of Flagellants appeared in Italy in the thirteenth century. The disease first attacked the inhabitants of Perugia, and, finally, nearly all the people of Italy. After crimes and abominations had disgraced Italy, a great repentance and fear of Christ fell upon them; and the noble and the commoner, the young and the old, even children of five years of age, ran through the streets naked with whips and leathern straps, with which, amid sighs and weeping, they chastised themselves on the shoulders till the blood flowed, and they cried aloud for mercy. Even in the night, too, they went about by ten thousand at a time, with torches, and with priests and banners. This frenzy, however, became far more extensive in the middle of the fourteenth century in consequence of the Black Death. The scourges of the Brothers of the Cross in Westphalia were sticks with loose-hanging thongs, at the end of each of which were iron prickles, with which they chastised themselves till their bodies were green and blue. In 1374 there were seen in Aix-la-Chapelle troops of men and women, out of Germany, who, hand in hand, and in a state of perfect insanity, danced furiously for whole hours together, till they fell down exhausted. Then they complained of great oppression, and groaned, till people laced up the lower parts of their bodies, and pressed them together by blows of the fists and by treading on them. Some said that they saw in their convulsions the heavens open; then followed spasms, and epileptic convulsions and fearful racking of the limbs, and those who were accidentally present became infected by them, so that they were irresistibly compelled to join them. For two hundred years examples of their dancings continued. The history of the St. Vitus's dance and its contagiousness is better known.

Tholuck gives the following facts concerning the sect of

Jumpers or Springers who arose in America in 1760. (See Tholuck's Miscellaneous Writings, Th. i. p. 91.) "Their divine service was accompanied by the most wonderfully convulsive gestures; and still in the religious assemblages of the Methodists there, which are held in the open air, that is, at their camp-meetings, the convulsions and violent spasms, under the name of jerkings, are by no means uncommon. The remarkable epidemic laughing-mood is also of this kind, which sometimes attacks them in their public services. Women have often been known to laugh for two days together, and to be so attacked by the devil that they could not resist. Wesley, their founder, was attacked by this laughing epidemic on a Sunday fourteen years before, as he was walking with his brother in a meadow, and while they were singing religious hymns. Spite of their endeavours, neither of them could give over, and they were obliged to go home. Poor L—— created a particularly great sensation; and they knew very well that she did not feign. Never, he says, had he seen any one who was so terribly dragged hither and thither by the evil one. Now she laughed aloud so that she was nearly suffocated; now she broke forth in cursing and blaspheming the name of God: then she stamped on the ground with such extraordinary strength that four or five people were not able to hold her. She was like one possessed. Finally, with a feeble voice, she called on Christ for help, and the violence of the paroxysm ceased. Because these paroxysms expressed themselves in laughter, they considered them to be the work of the devil.

Of the same kind were those magical occurrences amongst the children in the orphan-houses at Amsterdam and Horn, which may be compared perfectly to the effect on the children at Mora. The Netherland historian, P. C. Hooft, relates that, in the year 1566, the children in the orphan-houses at Amsterdam were so horribly tormented that it was enough to make any one's hair stand on end. Many children possessed by devils were not only so severely tortured that after their release the effects continued to cling to them through their lives, but they also climbed like cats up the walls and over the roofs, and made such horrible faces that the most

courageous men were terrified at them. They could speak foreign languages, and related things which took place at the same moment in other places, even in the courts of justice. They made such extraordinary movements in particular before the houses of certain women, that there arose a loud outcry against those women as witches.

In the orphan-house at Horn, according to Franz Kniper, in his work on the Devils, the following circumstances occurred in the same year as the strange events at Mora. In the year 1670 a great number of orphans of both sexes, but generally of the uneducated class, were attacked with a complaint for which various doctors of medicine could find no cure. The children fell down suddenly, and lost all consciousness. They were terribly racked and torn. They stamped with the feet, struck their arms and their heads on the earth, gnashed their teeth, howled and yelled like dogs. The stomachs of some of them rose and fell so violently as if they had some living thing within them. When they lay still they were as stiff as so many pieces of wood, and they could be carried about without their limbs moving; in which state they frequently continued for hours. The paroxysms infected other children when they saw them, or when they only heard their howling; and they fell into this condition on almost every occasion of divine worship, either before the preacher, or during the hours of prayer. The more God was prayed to for aid, the worse became the paroxsyms. In the times of fast these children were the most disorderly, and yet the most free from these attacks, because they had freedom and pleasure, and this, therefore, was regarded as devilish. When, at length, the children were taken out of the orphan-house, and received into the families of the citizens, they became rapidly better.

The same circumstances took place amongst the girls, in the girls' school of Antoinette Bourignon at Ryssel, from 1640 to 1650, which we shall soon become better acquainted with, more than fifty of whom by degrees confessed that they could bewitch people; the first, who had been shut up on account of some misdemeanour, found

means of escape, and declared, on examination, that the devil had released her.

We have seen how the natural gifts of divining were awakened amongst men, and were diffused through sympathy. We have seen this amongst the Indians; amongst the prophets of the school of Samuel, and the Israelites; amongst the Greek Corybantes; amongst the Scandinavian and German Druids; in the Taigheirm, and in the inspired dances of the Schamans, and amongst the witches of the middle ages.

Now comes another kind of visionary phenomena amongst the religious fanatics, of which the so-called Philadelphian Society, established by Pordage, displayed the most extraordinary specimens. All the members of the society had revelations and similar impressions of the senses, so that their visions, as it were, working from within outwardly, as by a contagion the inner senses affecting the outer ones, the wonder of all parties was excited,—the believers attributing the whole to the power of spirits, and the unbelievers to the effect of a bewildered imagination, or to deceit, which we, instructed by magnetism, have learned to recognise as physiological realities, and to explain the causes of their productions.

If the demoniacally-prophetic was supposed in the preceding phenomena, under the guidance of the devil, to play a demoralising part amid the most frightful rackings of the body and the confusion of the soul, others came forward somewhat later to unite the idea of white magic with religious faith in the divine, and in its miraculous power. This white, or natural magic, consists not in the sorcerer's faith in demoniac conjuration,—"ars subtilis nullis ceremoniis et conjurationibus contaminata," but it rests, according to Paracelsus, on the knowledge of natural powers, on the miraculous force of the imagination through faith. "Through faith, men may perform the incredible by means of the imagination, even to draw down the strength of the influences of the stars; and if the command be combined with faith, the magically-divine spirit in us has a superhuman sphere of action, which extends itself as wide as our thoughts, our imagination, and our faith."

To this white magic belongs the power of working

miracles, of perceiving and using the signatures of natural things, of foretelling the future, and of uniting the spirit fully with God through love, and thereby becoming an immediate partaker in the being and the work of God. So says Campanella (De sensu rerum, c. 1 and 2.):—"Qui magiam naturalem probe exercit cum pietate et reverentia erga creatorem, meretur sæpe ad supernaturalem eligi, et cum superis participare: qui autem abutuntur in maleficiis et venenis, merentur a dæmone ludificari et ad perditionem trahi. Fides requiritur et cordis puritas non historica sed intriuseca, quæ cum deo unanimes nos faciat."

It is difficult to arrive, however, at this beautiful idea of magic in the highest degree, since there requires for it a genuine holiness; and where pious minds strive honestly after it, yet they very easily stray into the flowery field of Theosophy, and thence lose themselves in that fanatic darkness of spiritual adepts, in whom the free activity of the spirit cooperates less in exertion than pious faith in passive submission, awaits immediate inspiration as the gift of divine grace without any merit of our own. We have here to take a passing glance at examples of this kind, taken from the biographies of spiritually allied theosophists of the seventeenth century, and especially of Pordage, Bromley, Antoinette Bourignon, Jane Lead, Poiret, Swedenborg, etc. In all of these, magic, in its best sense, plays the chief part; but one-sided theosophic subtleties, and a fanaticism of the imagination as to inward enlightenment, and divination and intercourse with spirits, have also their ample share.

Pordage was an English preacher of Cromwell's time; and being removed by the Protector from his living, he became an esteemed physician. In his principal work, "The True Divine Metaphysics," Pordage sets the power of the word with the inner vision and the right intention above everything. He who knows how to make himself master of the true word, and how to use it, and has the best intentions in using it, can produce magical effects; since through the inward vision men become aware of distant and future things. Pordage, with these peculiarities and visions and

intercourse with spirits, had once even a combat with a giant, who carried a tree which he had torn up, upon his shoulder, and a monstrous sword in his hand. Another time there appeared a winged dragon, who took up half the room, and vomited fire upon him, so that he fell down in a swoon. He was accustomed to such apparitions, particularly in the night, and the spirits went in and out of his chamber; and according to his assurance, his wife often saw the spirits as well as himself. By that battle with the giant, Pordage does not mean an actual, but a spiritual or magical giant, as one spirit has power to operate upon another. For there is a real though inexplicable influence which one spirit can exert upon another; and the influence of spirits can extend itself to a distance, so that a man through imagination and a lively desire can effect good or evil.

Pordage, in 1651, established amongst friends of similar views the so-called Philadelphian Society, to which afterwards some twenty members belonged; amongst them, Jane Lead, Thomas Bramley, Edward Hoker, etc. This society increased to a hundred members, and they were called the Angelic Brethren. Soon after this establishment, all the members at once, in one of their meetings, fell into ecstasy, in which they first saw visions of the dark world in the most horrible forms, but immediately afterwards, for the refreshment of their spirits, they had others from the world of angels. These transports took place daily for nearly a whole month, and generally in the meetings by day, though also at night. The former, from the world of darkness, passed in great pomp before their eyes. Their carriages were drawn by beasts; such as dragons, bears, tigers, etc. The unhappy spirits also appeared in the human form, yet in various distortions; some with the ears of cats, others with claws, or with fiery eyes, great teeth, and mouths drawn all on one side. He saw spirits pass in regular hosts on clear days before his windows; others through the glass into the room. He saw these and other apparitions, as he expresses it, through the outward sight with the inward eye. "For when we closed our eyes, we saw just as well as when they were open. Thus we saw everything, both inward with the eyes of the mind, and outwardly with the eyes of the body."

And then he gives the true explanation: "The true original ground of this seeing was in the opening of the inward eye of the mind; and thus it proceeded farther, in a magical manner, from the inward through the outward organ, through the most intimate union of the internal and external sight."

The evil spirits, like the angels, are in all places, in the air and on the earth, and cannot be excluded. "We saw them in the open air, and we saw them pass through closed doors and windows, without breaking the panes, and by clear daylight. The spirits can change themselves according to pleasure into gigantic forms or into furious beasts; as bears, lions, tigers, and snakes. From this we learn that evil spirits as well as good can be excluded from no place, for we saw them, says he, with their pomp and state go by like the clouds in the air, and in a moment they had passed through the windows into the room. Moreover, the organs of smell were affected; and thus the evil spirits kept up for three weeks, during which they appeared to them, a pernicious and abominable smell, which affected them greatly through the medium of the imagination." They also were persecuted with a detestable taste; for whether alone or in company with each other, they had an intolerable devilish taste of brimstone, soot, and salt, all mixed together, that would have occasioned them not only great disgust, but horror and sickness, had not the invisible hand of God supported them. They felt during this time exceedingly unwell, both in body and mind; and they were conscious of strange magical wounds, and stabs, and plagues, such as no one can describe except such as have been tried like Job, etc. The devils, says Pordage, finally drew all sorts of figures on the windows, and also on the tiles of the house, which they could not wash away; such as the two hemispheres of the globe, carriages full of men drawn by four horses, and which pictures appeared always to be in motion.

To these enthusiastic spirit-seers belonged particularly Thomas Bromley, Madame Antoinette Bourignon, and Jane Lead. Both ladies, through their intellectual accomplishments, and their numerous writings, have left an extended fame and a lasting interest; so that we must pay them some attention.

Antoinette Bourignon was born in Ryssel, in Flanders, in 1616, where she founded the above-mentioned ladies' school, and endeavoured to educate the children committed to her care, rather for heaven than earth; but which did not succeed. For the children preferred remaining on the earth, and therefore they were not able to follow the spiritual flight of their governess into heaven; they only reached, at the highest, the region of the air, and then fell, through the want of bodily nourishment, into the company of the sorcerers, who at that time haunted the world in all directions. Madame Bourignon was supported by the pious in these endeavours through spiritual exercises, but by the mockers she was declared to be a fool. She was finally obliged to quit the school, and after she had suffered severe trials from the kingdom of Satan, whom she had presented in many strange shapes in her writings, she rescued herself by flight. From her earliest years she had loved a quiet and retired life, exercised in pious practices; she had a decided drawing towards a conventual existence, which her parents did not permit her to indulge. As she could not attain to the object of her desires, she converted her chamber into a cell, where she had a beautiful crucifix, and passed the greater part of her nights on her knees in prayer. During such devotional exercises, she had often apparitions, which indicated her call to a solitary and unmarried life. As, however, during the life of her parents, she could not obtain her wish of retiring into the wilderness in the garb of an anchorite, after their death, through the means of one Saulieu, this girls' school was established for her. After he had set up a similar boys' school which met with little support, he made her an offer of marriage. The pious Bourignon rejected such a proposition with horror, and these witch-apparitions in her school were attributed to the disappointed Saulieu.

Bourignon then went to live at Ghent, in Belgium, and afterwards in Hamburg, where she continued her ascetic practices with others of like mind, maintaining her mantic and gnostic views; and by her numerous writings she gave rise to many theological controversies, in which she had very celebrated men as her supporters; amongst others, Johann Swammerdam, who in his latter years submitted all his writings to her inspection and judgment. She pub-

lished herself her autobiography: "La vie intérieure et extérieure de B., par elle-même." And Poiret republished this with the rest of her writings, as—"La dernière misericorde de Dieu; la lumière née en ténèbres; le nouveau ciel et la nouvelle terre," etc. Finally, her life has been published at Leipsig, in 1809, in the Pantheon of Celebrated Women.

Jane Lead, of a noble family in Norfolk, had enjoyed a careful education, but displayed in her youth a passion for solitude. After the death of her husband, with whom she had lived in wedlock seven-and-twenty years, she had her first apparition, which, according to her own account, showed evidence of great excitement. She now withdrew from all domestic affairs, lived nearly isolated, and, as a member of the Philadelphian Society, had those apparitions of spirits which proceed from the light of Christ, the spiritual bridegroom, and from the Sophia in God, and the magic strength of those who are born again. This strength is to be compared to a creative breath or to a life-giving flame, as she expresses it, and which propagates itself as a spiritual root which takes hold on others, and thus extends itself increasingly. He who possesses it is enabled by it to command the whole of nature,—plants, beasts, and the mineral kingdom, and when much magic operates through one organ, can mould all nature into a paradise. She has published a great number of writings, as—"Clouds," "The Revelation of Revelations," "The Laws of Paradise," "The Wonders of the Creation of God," "An Embassy to the Philadelphian Society." All these appeared in the ninetieth year of the seventeenth century at Amsterdam. Her writings are wholly included in "Jager's Acta Leadiana," Tübingen, 1712.

During the Thirty Years War,, Anna M. Fliescher of Freiburg, of whom Andreas Moller speaks at length in his account of that city, created a great sensation in Germany. She had before related similar visions and revelations, but was a greater enthusiast than those already mentioned, and suffered from epilepsy and terrible convulsions, so that in her paroxysms she was thrown hither and thither as by the devil's power; nay, was even lifted three ells into the air. She climbed up tall stones and roofs, and placed herself in the utmost peril while she sang holy songs. In

her transports, she saw a shining youth, who brought her the revelations, and exhorted her to good; but the devil, too, appeared to her with all sorts of temptations and plagues, so that her body and limbs were dislocated, and after the attacks were again reset by the youth. Moller says, the wrenching, agitation, and restoration of her limbs took place as though it were done by a surgeon, which was witnessed both by myself and two physicians of this city, as well as many other persons. Fräulein H—— had an actual dislocation of the hip-joint, which I magnetised, and in magnetic sleep replaced, but she had no visions.

At no time did more enthusiasts, visionaries, and prophets appear, than in the first half of the seventeenth century, and during the Thirty-years' War, in which troubles of all sorts, sorrow and suffering, hunger and plague, overspread Germany. Terror and misfortune, expectation and longing after freedom, so excited the minds of the religious partizans of that time, that religious zeal and heroic faith, as well as fanaticism and fantastic transports, were the order of the day. A great number of persons might, therefore, be added to these as examples, who in form and substance exactly agree with them. Most of them were bodily and spiritually sick, on which account their visions belong less to the category of religious imaginative pictures. Thus, Christiana Poniatöwitzsch, a daughter of a Protestant clergyman, through her visions and prophesyings in Bohemia and Germany, excited great attention. She had both night and day, with both open and closed eyes, visions of all kinds, transports and communion with spirits, like Swedenborg; but with her transports she had, at the same time, the most horrible spasms, till at length she fell into a swoon, and the spasms and visions left her for ever.

Not only these religious ecstatics, but others, and even sober philosophers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, placed the power of imagination very high; nay, not seldom beside enthusiastic exaggeration, so that a father said to his ecstatic daughter Seraphine, and with great truth:—"Thou knowest not, dear child, what a fearful creature man carries about with him in his own imagination. Seraphine will not be the last victim of this murderess."

Many of the philosophical writers of that century have dwelt

largely on the nature of the imaginative power, which shows that they had a deeper conception of it than at present is the case, when imagination is regarded as a wholly fleeting, shapeless form of representation, and as a wind hurrying past. The most eminent of these philosophers are Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Campanella, Poiret, etc.

Poiret, in his "Divine Housekeeping," agrees entirely with Pordage, that the spirit, the creative imagination, perceives things no otherwise than through an infusion of itself into them, or through a pouring of its own light into them, by which it becomes, to a certain degree, present to external objects. Thus, for instance, the divine communication of a revelation takes place through an immediate illumination of the human soul, and thus is God made present with men. This revelation cannot take place in a soul which is not the image of God; which is not of a divine nature. But man possesses the same creative power, though in a less degree, and of a less noble quality, in his reason and imagination. As God created the actual world through the inbeaming of his imagination and his will, so he conferred imagination on man, by the help of which he can represent things to himself. He gave him not, indeed, the creative power of mind, to bring forth material things, but the equally, and, in a certain sense, not less active imagination, by means of which he originally could handle physical objects as he could the pictures of his own imagination. Thus, for example, through imagination, he could so operate on an animal, by his will, which he beheld at a distance, that it should come nearer to him, so that in this manner he could rule absent things even as he now rules present ones. Originally man could by gestures and words, by the exertion of his imagination and his will, command the whole physical world. Thus, as we now can move our members as we will, because secret force flows from us into them, so could man through secret spiritual influence operate on the physical world, which was present to him or near to him; for, says Poiret, one is just as conceivable or inconceivable as the other. It was merely a renewal of the original nature of man, when the saints of the old time, in concert with their imaginations and the force of their wills, performed such wonderful things through the

might of their word; and thence the theurgic faith of all time in the omnipotence of adjuration. For example, when Noah called the animals to him into the ark; when Joshua commanded the sun; and Moses the Red Sea. Man did not originally receive speech in order to communicate his thoughts to his fellows; for that he could originally do through a secret influence, or through the mere desire of communication. He says, also, what Franz von Baader confirms, that man can not plastically create, but he can dominate and imaginate over that which is created.

After the above concise summary of this last historical period, I quote as a conclusion the following judgment upon it, from my work on Magnetism:—1st. A certain prophetic faculty is a common property of the human race, which becomes conspicuous in proportion as man withdraws himself from the external physical world. 2nd. Man discovers from this a higher power of the spirit, and a less circumscribed sphere of action for it; and this power can, according to the direction of the will, adapt itself to good or evil. 3rd. But it easily happens that the imagination acquiring a predominating action in the inner world of mind, separates itself from the guiding understanding, and then loses itself in an unrestrained flight in obscure paths, so that the subjective image of contemplation takes the place of the objective one of reality, and attributes to it external substances; as the apparitions of the Angelic Brethren show. 4th. The imagination thus excited, can in so free a flight and in the predominating religious mood of mind, be easily misled to fanaticism, if the general intercourse with man be interrupted or wholly abandoned. 5th. In such a state of things visions may have an injurious reflex action on the body, and injure the health, 6th. In such a wavering condition of the body and the soul, the functions of life become, in fact, diseased: the senses produce visions, and the muscles spasms, as an abnormal condition, in which transports and madness are more frequently the result than truth and strength. 7th. As the soul and the body have their true equilibrium, and occasion mutually defective functions and sympathies, so can an over-excited or false subjective condition of the senses draw all or several of the objective senses into a diseased sympathy of suffering; as we have seen

in the witches of the Philadelphian Society, and as we frequently find to be the case in the magnetic phenomena of a degraded class of persons, in which smell, taste, and feeling, all have a smack of the spiritual cesspool within them. 8th. In so great a susceptibility and, as it were, demoralized state of the imagination, the objective impression of the senses easily passes in tone and form over into the inner movements of the subjective life, so that a loud sound, or a flash of light, may change themselves into a speaking voice and fixed luminous image, as is often the case with excitable, imaginative artists; and which is then the result of an exclusive attention to one object, as in the instance of the drawings left by the devil with Pordage, which on being looked at appeared to move; by which the reversal of the polarity of the senses, and the passing over of the inner sense to the outward organs of the senses, is no longer so perplexing. 9th. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, if uneducated magical seers, or enthusiastic minds, once sunk in such a visionary life, exert no judgment and no discrimination, in order to distinguish the subjective image of the imagination from the objective reality. 10th. Apart from deception and wilful deceit, self-delusion is very possible; appearance and fact, truth and error, may no longer be distinguishable from each other. 11th. So long as man lives on earth he must cherish his body, and allow it to receive all that is good for it, as well as cultivate the soul: for the sound body only has a sound soul. Where the limbs are contracted by spasms, the spirit sees apparitions. 12th The business of life is not mere visionary contemplation and indolent seclusion, but an active faith to do the work of love in a social community.

THIRD DIVISION.

MYSTIC DOCTRINES, AND ENDEAVOURS AFTER A PHILOSOPHICAL ELUCIDATION OF THE MAGIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

As I here propose to go no further into the history of philosophy, and in regard to the mystic philosophy in particular, refer to Molitor's work "The Philosophy of History, Part 3rd," I shall confine myself especially to those men who had magic and magical circumstances pre-eminently in view, and who have left behind them instructive hints and speculations upon them, highly advantageous to the history of magnetism.

THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS.

Unquestionably Paracelsus deserves one of the most eminent places in the history of magic; nay, we may assert that with him begins properly a new epoch in that history, since he not only awoke the mind to a higher endeavour, but still more, was the founder of a very remarkable school of magnetism, and that in more than one respect.

As to what relates to the phenomena, the mode of treating it, and to the theory of magnetism, we have already seen sufficient examples in the ancient times, and so downwards; but no man has developed the doctrine of the reciprocating elements of life with such perspicuity, such striking illustration, and such impressive language, as Paracelsus. Paracelsus was the first who compared this universal

reciprocity of life in all creations, in the great as in the small, with the magnet: so that the word *magnetism*, in the sense in which we understand it, originated with Paracelsus.

This doctrine of magnetism is scattered in a most remarkable manner through the works of Paracelsus, who lived three hundred years before our time; so that by seeking them out and collecting them they become very instructive to us. His conceptions of magnetic reciprocity were so clear and just, his ideas upon it, which he for the most part corroborated by his own experience, were of so lofty and peculiar a scope, that it is difficult for us to emulate his flight. But as he, as a spiritual philosopher, taught, and not only taught, but founded his system on the doctrine of emanation of all things from a primal Being, and on the emanations of the stars and the elementary bodies, and their influences on each other, people, from a great want of historical information, have regarded him as the originator of the Cabbalah; and as the essential principles of this school were not understood, and as the very name was a bugbear, Paracelsus was set down as a noisy theorist, an enthusiast and adventurer, and, through traditionary custom, this character has, in a great degree, adhered to him to the present time. A principal cause of this, indeed, was, that such unusual and startling assertions, brought forward in an incomprehensible style and in barbarous terms, and defended against his enemies with such lively fire, and with such bitterness and caustic wit, that it was not to be wondered at that it gave rise, in a man of such impetuous temperament, to much exaggerated and mysterious trash and a variety of nonsense.

I will now introduce some passages of the Paracelsian doctrine, and for that purpose avail myself of the works of Hemmann (Medico-Surgical Essays, Berlin, 1778) and Pfaff's Astrology; to which I shall add some important extracts on magnetism from his own works.

This extraordinary man, says Hemmann, gifted by nature with the most original talents, lived in an age when the science of medicine had degenerated to a shallow school gossip, and the disciples of Galen, spite of their gossiping and their passion for controversy and disputation, were the most wretched pretenders in the healing of diseases. He was one of the greatest chemists of his time; and as he

saw through much experience that the Galenic doctors, with their bleeding, purging, and emetics (for in those things consisted the whole lumber), scarcely succeeded in curing a single disease; and that pedlars, newsmongers, and the like fellows, were often more successful than these puffed-up drivellers, it could not fail but that a genius, who was least of all things calculated to become a miserable imitator, should conceive the intensest hatred and contempt for the Galenic art of healing.

"I have in the beginning," says Paracelsus, "just as muchas my opponents, thrown myself with fervent zeal on the teachers; but when I saw that nothing resulted from their practice, but killing, death, murdering, laming and distorting—that the greatest number of complaints were deemed by them to be incurable, and that they scarcely administered anything but syrups, laxatives, purgatives, and oatmeal-gruel, pumpkins or citrons, jalap, and other such messes, with everlasting clysters, I determined to abandon such a miserable art, and to seek truth by some other way. I considered with myself, that if there were no teacher of medicine in the world, how would I set about to learn the art? No otherwise than in the great open book of nature, written with the finger of God. This I now studied, and the books of the physicians no longer; for every pretender has his own hobby; and who can here obtain any result, or discover the truth? I am accused and denounced for not having entered in at the right door of art. But which is the right one? Galen, Avicenna, Mesue, Rhasis, or honest nature? I believe, the last! Through this door I entered, and the light of nature, and no apothecary's lamp, directed me on my way."

Paracelsus, continues Hemmann, set out on this journey, but he did not, like our effeminate men of learning, drive through the world in a post-chaise. He went on foot, and did not seek merely a collection of snails and butterflies. Through his mode of travelling he had the best opportunities of observing everything worthy of notice in nature. As he had studied metallurgy, he was, therefore, in a condition to examine the mines of Germany, Hungary, Sweden, and Norway, with advantage. He travelled through the greater part of the then known world, and spared neither labour nor

research to enrich his mind with profitable knowledge. "I have pursued art," he said, "even at the risk of my life, and have not been ashamed to learn even of pedlars, newsmongers, and barbers." He learned by these means the art of healing wounds, and practised with great success and fame in this department. With this rare, and at that time extraordinary mass of knowledge and experience, he was called to become a lecturer in the university of Basle, to which the most celebrated men were invited from all parts. On his travels he had considerably unlearned his Latin, and was, therefore, compelled to teach in German, a circumstance which at that time was looked upon as an unheard-of heresy. He was boldly attacked on account of his travels, and also on account of his simple mode of living and dressing. In his sixth defence he vindicated his travels with much warmth; broke loose with great bitterness on the Galenic cushion-pressers, who dared not to go out of doors except on an ass or in a carriage; and concluded his defence with the following noble sentiment: "Writings are understood by their letters, but nature through travel, and the different lands and provinces are the leaves of the code of nature."

Paracelsus manifests in many parts of his works the highest veneration for Hippocrates, who had pursued the very mode by which he himself sought the truth; but the unfounded theories of Galen, and the conceits with which the Arabs had surrounded him, were an abomination to him. This it is, and not his knowledge, which his opponents accused him of, and which he declaimed against his whole life through. "The charge of drunkenness," says Hemmann, "proceeds from the impure source of Oporinus, who lived with him some time in order to learn his secrets, but his object was defeated; and hence the evil reports of his disciples and the apothecaries." He himself says that these and the apothecaries have, more than any others, traduced him; the first, because he would not publish his secrets; and the second, because he wrote his recipes in the simple vernacular. "The apothecaries," he says, "are my enemies, because I will not empty their boxes. My recipes are simple, and do not consist of from forty to sixty ingredients, as those of the Galenic doctors; but it is my duty to heal the sick, and not to enrich the apothecaries."

In the essay on the power of the magnet, he says, "The magnet has long lain before all eyes, and no one has ever thought whether it was of any further use, or whether it possessed any other property, than that of attracting iron. The sordid doctors throw it in my face, that I will not follow the ancients; but in what should I follow them? All that they have said of the magnet amounts to nothing. Lay that which I have said of it in the balance, and judge. Had I blindly followed others, and had I not myself made experiments, I should in like manner know nothing more than what every peasant sees—that it attracts iron. But a wise man must enquire for himself, and it is thus that I have discovered that the magnet, besides this obvious and to every man visible power, that of attracting iron, possesses another and concealed power."

"In sickness you must lay the magnet in the centre from which the sickness proceeds. The magnet has two poles, an attracting and a repelling one (Paracelsus terms it the back and the belly). It is not a matter of indifference to which of these poles a man applies. For instance, on the falling sickness and every kind of epilepsy, where the attack affects more particularly the head, it is proper to lay four magnets on the lower part of the body, with the attracting pole turned upwards, and on the head only one with the reflecting pole downwards; and then you bring other means to their aid. This paragraph, says Paracelsus, is of more value than all that the Galenists have learned or have taught in the whole course of their lives. If, instead of their boastings, they had taken a magnet, they might have affected more than they ever would with all their learned swagger. He cured by this means defluxions of the eyes, ears, nose, and other members, as well as fistulas, cancers, and other ailments. Further, the magnet draws together ruptures, and cures them; it draws away jaundice and dropsy, as I have often experienced in my practice." In another place he says, "I find such secrets hidden in the magnet, that without it I could, in many cases, have effected nothing."

A great part of the system of Paracelsus is based on magnetism. In man there is a something sidereal, or a life

which emanates from the stars. Whether this is precisely physical or not, it may, in respect to the far greater body, be considered a spirit. This life stands in connection with the stars from which it has been drawn, and attracts their strength to it, like a magnet. This life he calls the "Magnes Microcosmi"—the little world, and explains through it many circumstances in nature. In the second book on the plague, he teaches that there lies an attractive power in man, which draws diseases out of chaos. In the fourth treatise on the plague, he asserts that the magnetic power is diffused throughout nature; that the human mummy draws the poisonous properties out of the moon, the stars, and other things towards itself; whilsi, on the other hand, the moon and the stars again attract poisonous exhalations to themselves, and impart them to others.

Man is taken out of the four elements, and is nourished by them; but not merely palpably so through the stomach, but also imperceptibly through the magnetic power, which resides in all nature, and by which every individual member draws its specific nourishment to itself.

The sun and the stars attract from us to themselves, and we from them again to us. Those secret influences have their positive office in the maintenance of the body.

Upon this theory of magnetism is based the sympathetic cure of disease. Paracelsus says on this head, that in the mummy, or so-called magnet, all physical power resides, and that a little dose draws everything homogeneous in the whole body to itself. One can in this way free oneself in the most wonderful manner from diseases which are the most difficult of cure, as gout, rheumatism, etc., when we convert ourselves, as it were, to iron; that is, when we apply a small part of the decayed mummy to another sound body. This draws immediately the whole of the disease, as the magnet does the iron, to itself; and the first becomes sound, the second receives the disease.

The celebrated Magisterium Magnetisis a tincture extracted from the magnet. In the fourth book, Archidoxarum, he boasts of this tincture that it is a specific; that it will draw every kind of disease out of the human body. He believed that this tincture even communicated its properties to the

vial in which it was kept, and that it could not only attract iron, but straws and other bodies. So far Hemmann or Paracelsus.

Very many beautiful and instructive things are contained in the books upon the nature of the stars (De Ente astrorum, lib. i.); on the nature of spirits (De Ente spirituali, lib. iv.); on the nature of God (De Ente Dei, lib. v.); the book on the plague, etc.

Paracelsus compares the body to wood, and the life to fire. But this comes, like the light, from the stars and from heaven: "firmamento et ex astris promanat." He styles magic the philosophy of Alchemy; the discoverer of the healing art, and the principles of it, the analysis of Medicine. But that is not like the magic, which man does not understand (Theophrasti Paracelsi Opera omnia, Genevæ, 1658, vol. i. pp. 634 and 698.)

He laid immense importance on the knowledge of the machinery of the stars. "We must know," he says, "that man has something magnetic in him, without which he cannot exist. But the magnetism is there on account of man, not man on account of the magnetism. This magnetic principle contains the magnetism of man, and comes from the stars, and nowhere else."

"Sciendum est, debere hominem habere Magnaue, sine quo vivere nequeat. Magnate enim propter hominem factum est, non homo propter Magnale. Hoc Magnale Magnale homines sustentat, hoc autem ex astris descendit et ex nullo alio."—L. c. p. 167.

In another place he says:—"Similem attractivam vim in se homo quoque conditam fert, quæ in uno gradu cum magnetica vi versatur. Jam ergo homo foris secus per vim illam ad se trahit circumstans sibi chaos. Hinc sequitur infectio æris in homine. Hinc intelligite, quod magnes est spiritualis in homine fit quærens hominem infectum, si uniatur foris cum chao. Sic sani per magneticam hanc attractionem ab ægris inficiuntur."—L. c. p. 411.

"A similar attractive power is born with men, which resembles a kind of magnetic power. Through this power man draws chaos to himself from without, and therefore follows the infection of the air by men."

He has in a very remarkable manner explained infection

as magnetic, and in the same way as Frederick Hufeland has done recently (On Sympathy, etc.)

"Therefore," he says, "you must understand that the magnet is that spirit of life in man which the infected man seeks, as both unite themselves with chaos from without. And thus the healthy are infected by the unhealthy through magnetic attraction. The fact may be shown by an example. When sound eyes look at bleared ones, the sound eyes attract the chaos of the diseased eyes to them, and the evil passes immediately over into the sound eyes."

We understand what was the opinion of Paracelsus on this head from the following words:—"I assert," he says, "decidedly and openly, what I have learned of the magnet from experience, that there lies in it a secret of so exalted a character, that without its means we cannot cure many diseases" (l. c. p. 194.)

It is, also, further remarkable that Paracelsus based the whole of his theory on the Bible, which he knew almost by rote. Therefore he denounced the teaching of his opponents in the bitterest terms, as erroneous doctrines. This severe language probably caused him so many mortal enemies. It is worth the while to hear his own words on this subject:—

"Ye of Paris, Padua, Montpellier, Salerno, Vienna, and Leipzig; ye are not teachers of the truth, but the confessors of lies (confessores mendaciorum.) Your philosophy is a lie. Would you know what magic is, then seek it in the Revelations (ex apocalypsi quærite rem.) This is precisely the trouble and misery of the world, that all your arts are founded on lies. It is true that ye cry all of you with one mouth, that your philosophy does not need the evidence of the Scriptures. As you cannot yourselves prove your teachings from the Bible and the Revelations, then let your farces have an end. The Bible is the true key and interpreter. John, not the less than Moses, Elias, Enoch, David, Solomon, Daniel, Jeremiah, and the rest of the prophets, was a magician, Cabbalist, and diviner. If now all, or even any of those I have named, were yet living, I do not doubt that you would make an example of them in your miserable slaughter-house, and would annihilate them there, and, if it were possible, the Creator of all things too" (l. c. p. 382.)

"Talismans," says Paracelsus, "are the boxes in which the heavenly influences are preserved!"

Farther, he speaks in "Philosophia fugaci," of the Cabbalah, and of magic rings, by which persons may be brought into a condition which enables them to know what is taking place two hundred miles off. In another book (Archidoxis magica) he speaks of talismans and sympathetic salves, with which wounds may be cured without touching them.

The most remarkable part of what Pfaff has selected from Paracelsus is found in the following passages:—

"Three spirits live in and actuate man; three worlds cast their beams upon him; but all three only as the image and echo of one and the same all-constructing and uniting principle of production. The first is the spirit of the elements; the second the spirit of the stars; the third is the Divine Spirit." Thus taught, in the sixteenth century, Paracelsus. In these three branches all human wisdom that leads to God develops itself. It comes forth in the forms of physiology, astrology, and theology. That pervading band of universal consciousness is united in the stars, and from it is all human wisdom named; that is astronomy and nature, brought down hither from the stars; Astronomy from above; the wisdom and the work of those devoted to God; Astronomy of the new Olympus; the employment and the life of those inspired through faith.

The spirit of the elements rules the lower propensities of man. But as there is only one life, so there is only one in the stars as the copies in animal and human forms which they nourish. Thus is fixed in man, through the spirit of the elements, that general life of the earth in the deeper and more confined organisation. All created things are letters and books to describe the origin and descent of man. Thus, says Paracelsus, is the great world a domain of the little world; therefore in the little are all the kinds of dragons, serpents, the race of vipers, adders, and the nature of wolves and sheep. Thus the human body is possessed of primeval stuff (earth-clod in the Scriptures), and as a portion of the earth has received into itself the starry influence, which itself nourishes the earthly body, by which it is able to enter into union with the astral spirits, as it were, into a marriage. Therefore, as man in himself may learn the elements, he must

also learn the sidereal, he must also learn the eternal. Three lights thus burn in man, and thus there are three species of learning, and in the three is man perfected. And although it is true that two lights are a darkness to the third, yet they are the lights of the world, in which man by the help of natural lights must wander.

The body comes from the elements, the spirit from the stars. All that the brain produces takes its inspiration from the stars. Although all musicians should die, yet the same schoolmaster, Heaven, is not dead, which would become a teacher anew. Many stars have not yet had their influence; therefore the discovery of arts is not yet come to an end. Man eats and drinks of the elements, for the sustenance of his blood and flesh; from the stars are the intellect and thoughts sustained in his spirit."

Another image is the image of the magnet:—"God has ordained that man has a magnet in himself; one, namely, of the elements; therefore he attracts them again to himself; one of the stars, out of which he again draws to himself the microcosmic sensient faculty of the stars."

"The whole world surrounds man, and is surrounded as a point is surrounded by a circle. Thus it follows that all things have their impulse in their centres, even as a pippin lies in an apple, and draws from it its nourishment; for it is surrounded by the apple, and is sustained by the apple, and from it is derived also its nourishment."

"Whether a fire burns or not may be discovered by water, much or little. Thus is man, in the midst of the world. He is received and surrounded as a pot which stands in the midst of a tripod; and as the pot and whatever is contained in it must do what the fire will,—boil, steam, etc., so is it with the body. In the same manner as fire passes through an iron stove, do the stars pass through man with all their properties, and go into him as the rain into the earth, which gives fruit out of that same rain. Now observe that the stars surround the whole earth, as a shell does the egg; through the shell comes the air, and penetrates to the centre of the world. As the fish suffer in the pond, when heat or cold enters it, so the vapour of the stars passes through man."

He speaks of the poisoning of the atmosphere, of the

exhaling of the planets into the air of the universe; but only one side of the sidereal power is here observed, that which we call the disturbing of the atmosphere, and which has a general influence on the physical condition of man at large, on cleanness, and medical perfection.

This doctrine of Paracelsus has certainly a very deep meaning; but we must not take it too literally, as people for the most part are too apt to do, and, therefore, immediately perceive an odour of corruption in this planetary influence.

"Time is the life of the stars; the circling and working together of them. Not alone through the sun does the earth measure out its time. All that returns in circulating time to the earth, to animals and to man, acknowledges the lordship of the stars. The particular life of earth must accord with the general life of higher worlds, for God in love has created us the sidereal body, and has given it sensibility, that we may feel and reveal the secrets of the stars.

The temporal and periodical, when interrupted, produce the monstrous, as is seen in disease; in this disturbance of fixed laws we find the phenomenon of sickness. Paracelsus attributes some kinds of sicknesses to a sensibility to planetary influences; in others the gift of prophecy to the same cause.

As the monstrous is an effect produced by opposition to the life of the stars and of individuals, there are also prognostications of that which nature further works out, of that which strives to put an end to this opposition. Paracelsus, therefore, warns astronomers thus: "And let no astronomer make a rule to himself, and measure the harmony of the heavens therewith. He who cannot fathom such a matter is as good an astronomer as a relic-box is a priest."

In dreams a man is like the plants, which have also the elementary and vital body, but possess not the spirit. In sleep the astral body is in freer motion; then it soars to its parents; it holds converse with the stars. And after death also it returns to the stars, and the earthy body descends then into the bosom of the earth. Dreams, forebodings, prescience, prognostications, and presentiments, are the gifts of the sidereal, and are not imparted to the elementary body.

"Now the cause and origin," says Paracelsus, "of this

divination is thus. That man is possessed of an astral body that unites with the outward stars, and they two confabulate together, when the astral does not trouble itself about the elementary body. As in sleep the elementary body rests, the sidereal continues its action; it has neither rest nor sleep; but when the elementary body predominates and overcomes, then rests the sidereal. But when the elementary rests, then come dreams, as the stars operate, and such are dreams and their revelations. And according as the stars are disposed, so are the dreams. For, as we have said, the stars give nothing to the avaricious and the self-conceited; for selfishness and conceit expel the operation of the firmament, and resist the stars."

In accordance with the whole of his views of nature, Paracelsus attributes to animals also presentiments; for they too have an astral body.

Paracelsus has written a whole book on the existence of fools. "Wisdom," he says, is also in fools, and breaks forth like a light through horn, dim and murky; or like a light through a fog." He recommends us to notice their declarations and to endeavour to comprehend them. Pfaff closes his essay with the following words:—

"So much from the writings and the spirit of a man who has taken the most comprehensive views of natural things; the bold creator of chemical medicines; the founder of courageous parties; victorious in controversy, belonging to those spirits who have created amongst us a new mode of thinking on the natural existence of things. What he scattered through his writings on the Philosopher's Stone, on Pigmies and Spirits of the Mines; on signs, on homunculi, on pictures, meteors, impressions, and the Elixir of Life, and which are employed by many to lower his estimation, cannot extinguish our grateful remembrance of his general works, nor our admiration of his free, bold exertions, and his intellectual life."

In the Strasburg edition, 1603, Paracelsus writes of the power and operation of the spirit. "It is possible," he says, "that my spirit, without the help of the body, and through a fiery will alone, and without a sword, can stab and wound others. It is also possible that I can bring the spirit of my adversary into an image, and then double

him up and lame him according to pleasure. You are to know that the exertion of the will is a great point in the art of medicine. Man can hang disease on man and beast through curses; but it does not take effect by means of strength of character, virgin wax, or the like: the imagination alone is the means of fulfilling the intention. Every imagination of man comes from the heart, for this is the sun of the microcosm; and out of the microcosm proceeds the imagination into the great world. Thus the imagination of man is a seed, which is material. Determined imagination is a beginning of all magical operations. Fixed thought is also a means to an end. I cannot turn my eye about with my hand, but the sternly fixed imagination turns it wherever it will. The imagination of another may be able to kill me. Imagination springs out of pleasure and desire; therefore envy and hatred follow; for desire is followed by the deed. A curse may be realised when it springs from the heart; thus the curses of fathers and mothers proceed from the heart. And when any one will lame or stab another, he must first in imagination thrust the weapon into himself; he must conceive the wound, and it will be given through the thought, as if it were done with the hands. The magical is a great concealed wisdom, and reason is a great public foolishness. No armour protects against magic, for it injures the inward spirit of life. Of this we may be assured, that, through faith and a powerful imagination only, we can bring any man's spirit into an image. There requires no conjuration and ceremonies; circle-making and incensing are mere humbug and juggling. The human spirit is so great a thing that no man can express it: as God himself is eternal and unchangeable, so also is the mind of man. If we rightly understood the mind of man nothing would be impossible to us on earth. The imagination is invigorated and perfected through faith, for it really happens that every doubt breaks the operation. Faith must confirm the imagination, for faith establishes the will. Because men do not perfectly imagine and believe, the result is that the arts are uncertain, while they might be perfectly certain."

BAPTISTA VAN HELMONT.

One of the worthiest and most able of the successors of Paracelsus was the great Van Helmont, who, on account of his vast knowledge, his acute judgment, and penetrating spirit, created a new epoch in medicine. In the history of magnetism he takes the very first rank, since he brought into this dark field a light more clear than any one before or since has done.

In order to make this thoroughly apparent and instructive, I will extract, with diligence and fidelity, from his works such of his doctrines as belong to this subject, (J. Bapt. van Helmont, opera omnia, Francos. 1682); and, in addition, avail myself of the excellent work of Deleuze (De l'opinion de Van Helmont sur la cause, la nature et les effets du Magnétisme, par Deleuze: Bibliothèque du Magn. Anim. t. i. p. 45; et t. ii. p. 198, Paris, 1877.) Deleuze says, that in the writings of Van Helmont he has found much common popular belief, tasteless opinions, mythic, illusory ideas, and dark and incomprehensible things, but at the same time great truths. If some person, therefore, would collect his works, explain them, and extract the facts on which he founds his doctrines, he would produce a great and highly remarkable work, and throw new light on the knowledge of magnetism.

"Van Helmont was a man of genius," says Deleuze, "who created epochs in the histories of medicine and physiology. He first turned aside out of the beaten highway of Galen and the Arabs, and showed the way of life. He first recognised the vast activity of the stomach, and its dominion over the other organs: he saw that the diaphragm was the central point of the living body. Whilst he contemplated the total of things, and enquired into the causes of their alternating influences on each other, he found in all bodies a general cause, an especial activity, which the Creator had impressed upon them, and through which one acted upon the other. This he denominated *Blas*. He was the first to give the name of GAS to aerial fluids. Without him it is probable that steel would have given no new impulse to science."

In treating of the magnetic cure of wounds, Van Helmont undertakes to answer two writers, Goclenius, professor in Marburg, who defended the cure of wounds by the discovered sympathetic salve of Paracelsus; the other, Father Robert, a Jesuit, who condemned all these cures, not because he denied them, but because he attributed them to the devil. Van Helmont says he was implored to decide on these matters, since they affected Paracelsus as their discoverer, and himself as his disciple. He says that he found Goclenius far too weak to be the defender of the magnetic cures from natural causes, and the priest far too young to decide upon a matter, and to declare it to be of the devil, since he had not shown a single spark of reason for his opinions. He feels himself bound to excuse Goclenius, though he had in vain laboured at a new discovery; but he complains of the priest. "For nature," he said, "has not chosen the priests as her interpreters, but has elected the physicians as her sons, and yet of them such only as understand the science of fire, and have enquired into the nature of peculiar qualities. The priests must first receive from us the fundamental knowledge, that they do not, as cobblers, fall upon the last. The theologian shall enquire after God, the naturalist after nature" (l. c. p. 705). I will now quote the most remarkable passages which this great master has written concerning the magnetic wonders (De magnetica vulner. curatione, p. 708, l. c.)

"Material nature," he says, "draws her forms through constant magnetism from above, and implores for them the favour of heaven: and as heaven, in like manner, draws something invisible from below, there is established a free and mutual intercourse, and the whole is contained in an individual."

This magnetism, because it predominates everywhere, has nothing new besides the name, and nothing contrary to common sense, except to those who ridicule everything, and attribute to the power of the devil what they do not understand. And what, then, is there superstitious in the belief in a sympathetic salve, except that its use was new, the people unaccustomed to it, and, therefore, the wonderful in it seemed to be the work of the devil?

He who considers magnetic cures to be of the devil, not be-

cause they are procured by forbidden means, and have a culpable object, but because they are effected by the magnetic power, must for the same reason believe that all magnetic phenomena whatever are sorcery, and the work of the devil.

"Magnetism is an unknown property of a heavenly nature; very much resembling the influence of the stars, and not at all restrained by any boundaries of space. He, therefore, who avails himself of a magnetic means undertakes a God-pleasing business, which has in both worlds, by one order and in equal degree, the same conductor. Therefore, even the relics have a greater power when they are carried about and touched; as it is necessary to carry the magnet, to rub it, or touch it that it, may attract" (p. 712.)

"That which Paracelsus has done is therefore far from being evil. For he has placed aloft magnetism, which was unknown to the ancients, as an actuality indispensable to the enquiry into things and a fundamental study of nature; has placed it aloft as the most enlightening and fruitful of sciences, when it had in all schools been laid aside as utterly barren. He is, therefore, to be considered the monarch who has dragged forth all the secrets of all his predecessors, and we must value him highly, if we will not, as ignorant judges, join with haters of all good deeds in slandering him.

"Every created being possesses his own celestial power, and is allied to heaven. Therefore, it is no wonder if the astral spirits of men show themselves after death still wandering about. The outward man is animal, and yet, notwithstanding, the true image of God. If, therefore, God acts through a hint or a word, man must be able to do the same, if he be God's true image. This is not alone the property of God—the devil, too, though the most abandoned of beings, moves by a mere will bodies from their place. This original power must, therefore, belong to the inner man, if he will represent the spirit of God, and not of a frivolous being. And if we call this a magic power, the uninstructed only can be terrified by the expression. But if you prefer it, you can call it a spiritual power, (spirituale robur vocitaveris). About the name I do not trouble myself; but I am accustomed to contemplate the thing itself as near as I can. There is, therefore, such a

magic power in the inner man. But as there exists a certain relationship between the inner and the outer man, this strength must be diffused through the whole man, only that it is more active in the soul than in the body" (l. c. p. 720).

"This magic power of man, which thus can operate externally, lies, as it were, hidden in the inner man. It sleeps and acts, without being awakened, like one drunken in us daily. This magical wisdom and strength thus sleeps, but by a mere suggestion is roused into activity, and becomes more living the more the outer man of the flesh and the darkness is repressed. While, however, that outward man reposes in sleep, dreams sometimes of a prophetic nature come, and God is on that account frequently nearer to man in sleep than in waking" (l. c. p. 722).

"Therefore, all our contemplations, prayers, watches and fastings, all the castigations of our bodies, tend to the repression of the power of the flesh, and to maintain that divine and living spirit-strength in activity; and, therefore, should we praise God, who only in the spirit, that is, in the innermost heart of man, can be worshipped; and this, I say, the Cabbalistic art effects; it brings back to the soul that magical yet natural strength which like a startled sleep had left it."

"This natural strength is through sin gone to sleep in us, and it is necessary that it should be awoke up again. This may be effected either through the illumination of the Holy Ghost, or man can, through Cabbalistic art, procure it for himself at pleasure. These may be called goldmakers, but their guide is the spirit of God himself."

"This strength, I have said, is also in the outer man; that is, in flesh and blood. Nay, not only in the outer man, but to a degree also in the animals, and perhaps in all other things, as all things in the universe stand in a relation to each other; or at least God is in all things, as the ancients have observed with a worthy correctness. It is necessary that the magic strength should be awakened in the outer as well as in the inner man; but the devil has power only to awake what is in the outer man: in the inner, in the bottom of the soul, is that kingdom of God to which no created thing has entrance" (p. 725).

"I have also farther taught that between the spiritual powers there is an interchange; and, finally, I have endeavoured to show that man rules the physical creatures through his natural magic, and can use the strength of other things.

"The magnetism of magnets, and of all other lifeless things, occurs through the natural feeling of accordance.

"Finally, magical power is, as it were, separated from the body, which is put in motion by the inner power of the soul; whence the mightiest events, the deepest impressions, and the most decisive effects proceed.

"I have hitherto avoided revealing the great secret, that the strength lies concealed in man, merely through the suggestion and power of the imagination to work outwardly, and to impress this strength on others, which then continues of itself, and operates on the remotest objects. Through this secret alone will all receive its true illumination,—all that has hitherto been brought together laboriously of the ideal being out of the spirit—all that has been said of the magnetism of all things—of the strength of the human soul—of the magic of man, and of his dominion over the physical world" (p. 731).

"When, therefore, this peculiar magical power of man is shown to be a natural one, it was hitherto an absurd thing to believe that the devil through its agency effected his own ends; that the devil in his fall had retained that magical function by which merely with a suggestion he could accomplish what he pleased, this being a natural gift of his own; and that this equally natural endowment of man was taken from him and conferred on the devil, the most despised of all creatures. Open then your eyes; the devil has hitherto in your excessive ignorance been exalted to great glory, while you, so to say, have offered to him the incense and dignity of fame, at the same time robbing yourselves of your natural advantage and giving it to him."

"I have also said the magical power of man sleeps, and needs to be awakened; which always remains true, if the object on which men will operate be not of itself already too much disposed to it; if its inner imaginative strength be not utterly opposed to the strength of the operator; or if the suffering part be not equally strong, or even stronger than the operative one" (p. 732).

"See, then, that is a Christian philosophy, and not the madness of the heathen, or idle dreams! Take heed in future, I say unto thee, that thou dost not compel me again to become a judge, and to decide that thou in thy decision wast too hasty."

These are all the words of Van Helmont himself, which I have literally translated, without making a single observation; they, indeed, being so clear of themselves that they by no means required it.

In another place he says:—"In the pit of the stomach there is a more powerful sensation than even in the eye, or in the fingers. The stomach often will not tolerate a hand to be laid upon it, because there is there the most acute and positive feeling, which at other times is only perceived in the fingers."

In the rest of his writings you find admirable thoughts, and excellent illustrations of magnetism, and particularly in his "De magna virtute rerum et verborum," and his book "De lampedæ vitæ."

Van Helmont sought the explanation of magnetic phenomena in some kind of sympathy, by which certain things and influences were transferred to others. As a proof of this sympathy in all things, he says that, amongst other things, it is shown by the fact that wine ferments, works, and is thrown into agitation in spring when the vine begins to blossom. But the question is whether this well-known fermentation is not rather to be attributed to the general requickening nature in all things which awakes a new life, and which is the most easily observable in active and readily fermenting fluids? Beer, for instance, displays a still more vivid fermentation, though it cannot be because the barley is then in bloom. The hops and the barley, which indeed do bloom, but not at that period, cannot, I think, be brought into the account.

Amongst the facts of sympathetic influence mentioned by Van Helmont, the following particularly deserve notice: "I know an herb," he says, "of an extraordinary nature. Warm it whilst thou crushest it in thy hand; then take the hand of another, and hold it till it is warm; and this person will have a great liking for thee for several days." He made this experiment

with a strange dog, on which the dog quitted its mistress and followed; him and this he showed before a number of witnesses. Another example related by him is of a lady with the gout, who had always an attack of the complaint whenever she sat down upon a seat on which her brother, who had been dead for five years, used to sit.

Van Helmont says, in his description of the nature of magnetism:—"The means by which this secret property enables one person to affect another mutually, is the MAGNALE MAGNUM, called the great magic play, though Paracelsus uses invariably the word MAGNALE. But this is not a physical substance, which we inspissate, measure, and weigh, but it is an ethereal spirit, pure, living, which pervades all things, and moves the mass of the universe."

"It gives wonderful revelations through certain ecstasies, which the inner man experiences; the outer man also, or the animal, may receive revelations, if the imagination be exalted. Many examples prove this.

"Before the fall of man, his soul had an inborn wisdom, and a prophetic gift of an extraordinary power. These capacities the soul still possesses; and if they are not visible, it is because of the many sensual obstructions which they encounter. Especially in sleep are men often enlightened by this supernatural light, since they are not then, as in the waking state, so much repressed by the attractions of sense.'

"That inward wisdom man has lost, to a certain degree, through the worldly knowledge which he acquired by eating the forbidden fruit; and he is now placed in the lower condition of being confined to the movements and guidance of the body. Paracelsus says on this head—'As they came out of Paradise, they were as they never had been before; and they then perceived what the world was. They then perceived the influence of the moon, of Mars, Jupiter, and every star in heaven.' But these magic powers again awoke, and man desired also that wisdom and the capacity for operating beyond himself. And in this consists pure primeval magic; not in superstitious practices and vain ceremonies, which the devil, never idle in destroying what is good, has introduced.' The spirit is everywhere diffused; and the spirit is the medium of magnetism;

not the spirits of heaven and of hell, but the spirit of man, which is concealed in him as the fire is concealed in the flint. The human will makes itself master of a portion of its spirit of life, which becomes a connecting property between the corporeal and the incorporeal, and diffuses itself like the light."

Van Helmont, after he relates the fact that a pregnant woman, frightened by some circumstance, stamped this image of terror on the unborn child, explains this truth also according to his theory. "The imaginative power of a woman, vividly excited, produces an idea, which is the connecting medium between the body and spirit. This transfers itself to the being with which the woman stands in the most immediate relation, and impresses upon it that image which the most agitated herself."

Van Helmont asserts further, that many herbs acquire from the imagination of those who gather them an extraordinary power. Nay, he goes farther, and says that, through certain simple and easy manipulations, a man may, if he will, convert a common needle into a magnetic one, and that these same manipulations are ineffectual if they are not accompanied by the will. A hint that a man must most especially attend to the first preparation of the needle, if he will produce the phenomena of the attracting and repelling power in it, which it seems he understood better than we, perhaps, now-a-days give him credit for.

The writings of Van Helmont contain some extremely remarkable facts concerning the power of the will in the state of ecstasy, which Deleuze has collected into two chapters of the "Bibliothèque du Magn. animal."

"The will," says Van Helmont, (the human Blas, *blas humanum*) "is the first of all powers. For through the will of the Creator all things were made, and put in motion. In man the will is the fundamental cause of his movements. The will is the property of all spiritual beings, and displays itself in them the more actively the more they are freed from matter; the strength of their activity demonstrates the purity of spirits.

"The infinite power of the will in the Creator of all things is also firmly fixed in the created being, and is more or less obstructed by matter. The ideas thus clothed

with physical nature operate also in a natural, that is, physical manner, on the living creature, through the means of the life-activity. They operate more or less, according to the will of the operator, and their activity may also be repelled by the will of those acted upon. A magician will thus operate more strongly on a weak nature than on a strong one, because the power of operating through the will has bounds, and others can oppose it more or less according to their strength."

Van Helmont corroborates still further the mutual influence of men on animals, and *vice versâ*, by stating that men by looking steadfastly at them (oculis intentis) for a quarter of an hour may cause their death; which Rousseau confirms from his own experience in Egypt and the East, as having killed several toads in this manner. But when he at last tried this at Lyons, the toad, finding it could not escape from his eye, turned round, blew itself up, and stared at him so fiercely, without moving its eyes, that a weakness came over him even to fainting, and he was for some time thought to be dead. He was recovered, however, by treacle and the powder of vipers.

It is also very remarkable what Van Helmont says of the phenomena which appear in certain men of themselves, or through an artistic treatment.

He first relates a singular story of one of his sleep-walking school-comrades, who every night took the key, unlocked the garden door, and walked in the garden. Van Helmont hid the key, but the sleep-walker fetched it from the concealed place without any difficulty.

He relates an extraordinary example in his own person of the transference of a sense to the pit of the stomach; which is the more extraordinary, as he had a perfect remembrance of what took place after being in a complete state of clairvoyance.

In order to make a medical experiment on poisonous plants, Van Helmont prepared the root of aconite, and tasted it with the point of the tongue, without swallowing any of it. He himself says:—"Immediately my head seemed tied tightly with a string, and soon after there happened to me a singular circumstance such as I had never before experienced. I observed with astonishment that I

no longer felt and thought with the head, but with the region of the stomach, as if consciousness had now taken up its seat in the stomach. Terrified by this unusual phenomenon, I asked myself and inquired into myself carefully; but I only became the more convinced that my power of perception was become greater and more comprehensive. This intellectual clearness was associated with great pleasure. I did not sleep, nor did I dream; I was perfectly sober; and my health was perfect. I had occasionally had ecstasies, but these had nothing in common with this condition of the stomach in which it thought and felt, and almost excluded all co-operation of the head. In the meantime my friends were troubled with the fear that I might go mad. But my faith in God, and my submission to His will, soon dissipated this fear. This state continued for two hours, after which I had some dizziness. I afterwards frequently tasted of the aconite, but I never again could reproduce these sensations" (Van Helmont, Demens idea.)

From this extraordinary phenomenon, Van Helmont concludes that the soul is not necessarily fettered to one organ or another of the body, and that it can, like a permeating light, diffuse itself through all, without having any medium necessary. "The sun-tissue in the region of the stomach," he says, "is the chief seat and essential organ of the soul. There is the genuine seat of feeling, as in the head is that of memory. The proper reflection, the comparison of the past and the future, the inquiry into circumstances,—these are the functions of the head; but the rays are sent by the soul from the centre, the region of the stomach. The isolated recognitions of the future, and that which is independent of time and place, belong solely and alone to the central hearth of the region of the stomach.

"Notwithstanding this, however, the feeling soul is not enclosed in the stomach as in a bag, or as the corn in an ear; she has only there her chief seat. And thence proceed the light and warmth which diffuse themselves through the whole body; from thence the power of life which prevails in all the organs."

After this crisis produced by the aconite, his consciousness received a totally new activity, and the time of sleep, as he himself says, was no longer lost to him. "Since then,"

he says, "I have dreams which enlighten me, and in which my spirit rejoices in its capacities and my judgment in its strength. This caused that, in the words of the Psalmist, I conceived how 'night unto night shows wisdom.'"

I now give, finally, what Van Helmont says of the inward light of the soul:—"When God created the human soul, he imparted to her essential and original knowledge. The soul is the mirror of the universe, and stands in relationship to all living things. She is illuminated by an inward light; but the tempest of passions, the multitude of sensual impressions, the dissipations, darken this light, whose glory only diffuses itself when it burns alone, and all is peace and harmony within us. When we know ourselves to be separated from all outward influences, and desire only to be guided by this universal light, then only do we find in ourselves pure and certain knowledge. In this state of concentration, the soul analyses all objects on which her attention rests. She can unite herself with them, penetrate through their substance, penetrating even to God himself, and feeling Him in the most important truths."

From all these observations, and from many other passages in his writings, it is clear that Van Helmont regards the science of medicine in a magnetic light, and practised it as such. His presence was frequently sufficient, according to his statement, to cure the sick. Through his will he operated not only on men, but even imparted through it a peculiar strength to medicines, and relied more on divine help which supported his spirit, without having sometimes recourse to any physical means.

He believed that human wisdom, which consisted merely in uncertain controversies, and an eternal nourishing of pride, was insufficient to afford help to suffering humanity; that all medical knowledge whatever was far indeed from that which God conferred on those whom he had chosen as the instruments of his mercy for the working out the healing of pains and disasters. He believed that we may properly use the means which the experience of many ages has taught us; and above all things should love actuate all our endeavours.

The description of the qualities of a physician is truly

the picture of a genuine magnetic and biblical doctor, but of which we, alas, have only a few examples.

"The physician chosen of God," he says (Van Helmont, Tumulis pestis), "is accompanied by many signs and wonders for the schools. He will give the honour to God, as he employs his gifts to the assuaging the sufferings of his neighbour. Compassion will be his guide. His heart will possess truth, and his intellect science. Love will be his sister; and the truth of the Lord will illumine his path. He will invoke the grace of God, and he will not be overcome by the desire of gain. For the Lord is rich and bountiful, and pays a hundredfold in heaped measure. He will make his labour fruitful, and he will clothe his hands with blessings. He will fill his mouth with comfort, and His word will be a trumpet before which diseases will fly. His footsteps will bring prosperity, and sickness will flee before his face, as snow melts in a summer morn. Health will follow him. These are the testimonies of the Lord to those healers whom he has chosen,—this is the blessedness of those who pursue the way of kindness; and the Holy Spirit will, moreover, enlighten them as the Comforter."

HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, OF RETTESHEIM.

Besides the chief disciples of Van Helmont, the principal advancers of the doctrines of Paracelsus in Germany were the following: John Reuchlin, who rested his theosophic doctrines pre-eminently on the Bible, and, therefore, wrote his most remarkable work, on the Power of the Word (De verbo mirifico, etc.) John Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, Leonhard Thurneysser, of Thurn, a popular astrologer; and magician at more than one German court; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, of Rettesheim. This last had written a remarkable book (De occulta philosophia), in which not only the doctrines of the Cabbalists but also peculiar and most excellent ideas of his own are contained, which, notwithstanding some absurdities, must be highly valuable in magnetic science, and of which, therefore, I shall quote a few. Agrippa occupied himself prin-

cipally with the three Paracelsian words—the sidereal, the elementary, and the spiritual.

I will here give a condensed epitome of his theory from Sprengel's History of Medicine. "As in the original world all things are in all, so in the physical world is equally every one and one in all (l. c. lib. i. c. 8). Out of every body proceed images, indivisible substances, which diffuse themselves through infinite space. Therefore bodies can operate on others at the most remote distances, and, on that account, a man is in a condition to impart his thoughts to another man who is hundreds of miles away" (Sprengel's History of Medicine, part 2nd, p. 267.)

"Matter is dead and inert, and without power to act; it receives strength and form from the ideas, that is, from nature, which have of themselves no bodies and no extension, but come from God into matter. Everything, however, according to Plato and the Platonists, is of divine origin (e mente divini quid), and on that account God is contained in all things. The stars consist equally of the elements of earthly bodies, and, therefore, the ideas (powers, nature) attract each other. The powers have their foundation first in the ideas, in the spiritual, then in the harmony of the heavens, and, finally, in the elements of bodies, which are in accordance with the sidereal ideas. The operations of this world have their foundation partly in the substantial forms of bodies, partly in the powers of heaven, partly in spiritual things, and, ultimately, in the primal forms of the original image. Influences only go forth through the help of the spirit; but this spirit is diffused through the whole universe, and is in full accord with the human spirit. Through the sympathy of similar, and the antipathy of dissimilar things, all creation hangs together; the things of a particular world within itself, as well as with the congenial things of another world."

Agrippa speaks in a very extraordinary manner of the moral means which a man must employ in order to procure the necessary insights and knowledge.

"The magician who will acquire supernatural powers must possess faith, love, and hope.

"In all things," he says further, "there is a secret power concealed, and thence come the miraculous powers of magic."

As an example, he introduces the magnet which attracts iron to it, and yet a diamond can deprive this magnet of its strength. "In every stone and plant there is a wonderful power and activity, but much greater and more wonderful is that of the stars."

He gives another example of the secret magical power, in everything consorting with its like, and in its appropriating and assimilating all things to itself.

"For everything living and acting, so soon as it becomes living, does not endeavour to go backwards, but forwards; that is, does not assimilate itself to the lower, but endeavours to assimilate the lower to itself, as is obviously shown by animals, which do not convert their food into stone or plant, but convert the herb into flesh, and, moreover, into sensitive flesh" (in carnem sensibilem).

He speaks thus of the influence of the stars:—"It is clear that all the low are subject to the higher; that is, the earthly depends on the stellar; but both are in a manner made kindred (quodammodo sibi invicem insunt). As the highest in the lowest, and the lowest in the highest, so there is in heaven the earthly and on the earth the heavenly; in both, however, clothed in their own manner. Thus we say that there are here sun-life and moon-life, (responding to the sun and moon) in which the sun and the moon especially reveal their strength." He gives examples of this in various things, even in the human body and its different intestines.

From these agreements of the stars, and of their mutual properties, he deduces, as a direct consequence, the particular agreement of individual things here, as the act of increasing or diminishing the effect of congenial things on each other in the earth." "If thou wistest from any particular part of the world to receive the power of a particular star, thou must use the means which stand in a particular relation to this star, and thou wilt experience its influence (Agrippa, c. 33, 34). If thou wilt, for example, draw the power of the sun to thee, use what is of a solar nature, metals, stones, or animals, but always, and best of all, such things as stand in a higher rank."

This doctrine of the power of the word is given at considerable length. He also ascribes to numbers a particular

activity, which he carries sometimes not merely to an unwise but even to an absurd extent. Finally, he asserts, in order to demonstrate the mutual influence of stars and of all things, that he believes the heavens and the heavenly bodies to be ensouled, since from no purely material body can action proceed. You see that Agrippa has, in general, very just ideas; but following these ideas far too passionately, he loses himself in particulars, and in a labyrinth of fables, at the same time that his total separation of spirit from matter, which he supposes to be utterly dead, is by no means philosophical.

ROBERT FLUDD.

In England, Robert Fludd was the most distinguished of the disciples of Paracelsus.

I do not take Fludd to be properly one of those consecrated theosophists, who endeavour to draw all wisdom from the eternal fountain of light: but, notwithstanding this, he was a very profound enquirer, as his book proves, ("Philosophia mosaica, in qua sapientia et scientia creatonis explicantur, auctore Rob. Fludd, Gondæ, 1638,) in which the great aim is to explain creation on principles of natural philosophy. As he enters in it upon the subject of magnetic cures, we will take note of some of his views.

He considers all things under certain modifications to proceed from one primæval being. The soul is a portion of this primæval being, which he calls "principium universale catholicum." Thence comes the kinship of all souls who have all their origin in this original soul as their central point.

His inquiries into the nature of sympathies and antipathies, and into the power of the magnet, are extensive. He explains the action of these in this manner, that the emanations of this fine spirit take various directions. In sympathy the emanations proceed from the centre to the circumference; in antipathy from the circumference to the centre. The power and influence of the stars is with him a chief doctrine, and that every body has its

particular star. The pole-star is that expressly appointed to the magnet.

Man, as a little world, is endowed with a magnetic power (magnetica virtus microcosmica). This power, however, is subjected to the same laws as is the power on the large scale of the universe. In the emotions of joy the heart expands, and sends its spirit from the centre to the circumference. In hatred it contracts, as in antipathy, and holds back its spirits. Man, like the earth, has his poles. Fludd adopts two main streams, the northern and the southern. Man, as the little world, is also divided by his perpendicular line into two equal parts. This line forms in the middle the equator; therefore, he says, man should place himself with his face to the east and his back to the west.

When two men approach each other, their magnetism is either active or passive; that is, positive or negative. If the emanations which they send out are broken or thrown back, there arises antipathy, or *Magnetismus negativus*: but when the emanations pass through each other from both sides, then there is positive magnetism, for the rays proceed from the centre to the circumference. In this case they not only affect sicknesses but also moral sentiments. This magnetism or sympathy is found not only amongst animals, but also in plants and in animals.

As even bodies, such as the earth and the magnet, which appear to be dead and inert substances, have their emanations and their poles, so much the more must these exist in living things, and above all in man. He gives many examples of sympathy and antipathy amongst animals and plants; speaks of talismans, and loses himself in a labyrinth of superstitions; speaks of spirits, of devils and their exorcism; so that with his noblest views are mixed common superstitions of the vulgar.

M. MAXWELL.

This is a Scotch physician, who asserted so clearly the doctrine of magnetism, that you often hear from him

the very words of Mesmer. He was well acquainted with his predecessors, and exerted himself to bring their ideas into a system, and therewith to build up a firm platform of science. On this account he flattered himself that he had raised magnetic medicine out of chaos.

His doctrines are stated with admirable brevity and perspicuity in a little volume. His work first appeared at Heidelberg. Another edition appeared at Frankfort (Medicina magnetica, Libri III., in quibus tam theoria quam praxis continetur; opus novum admirabile, Francof. 1679, 16). His magnetic theory, which much resembles that of Mesmer, may be briefly stated.

"That which men call the world-soul is a life, as fire, spiritual, fleet, light and ethereal as light itself. It is a life-spirit everywhere, and everywhere the same; and this is the common bond of all quarters of the earth, and lives through and in all." Adest in mundo quid commune omnibus mextis, in quo ipsa permanent, etc.

This spirit maintains all things in their peculiar condition: all matter is destitute of action, except as it is ensouled by this spirit.

"If thou canst avail thyself of this spirit, and heap it up in particular bodies, thou wilt receive no trifling benefit from it, for therein consists all the mystery of magic. This spirit is found in nature free from all fetters; and he who understands how to unite it with a harmonising body possesses a treasure which exceeds all riches."

"According to the variety of natural directions and capabilities, an experienced artist can impart it to all bodies and to every man in a surprising manner"—Aphorism 38.

"He who knows how to operate on men by this universal spirit, can heal, and this at any distance that he pleases"—Aphorism 69.

Maxwell believed that this universal spirit was to be found in light, and this, therefore, was his universal medium. Such an one there must be, and it is no other than the life-spirit condensed on some particular object.

"He who can invigorate the particular spirit through the universal one, might continue his life to eternity if the stars were not hostile"—Aphorism 70. "He who knows this universal life-spirit and its application can prevent all in-

juries. Therefore the physicians should see how much they might affect by it in the art of healing"—Aphorism 22.

"There is a linking together of spirits, or of emanations, even when they are far separated from each other. But what is this linking together? It is an incessant outpouring of the rays of one body into another."

"In the meantime it is not without danger to treat of this. Many abominable abuses of this may take place:" which, according to his opinion, would be immensely mischievous. Let us hear himself. (Conf. XIII. cap. conclus. 12.)

"But I will not allure to forbidden things; if thou shouldst find anything in my writings which is dangerous do not make it known. As I have brought forward the wonders of this art, and its great advantages, I cannot, at the same time, be silent on its disadvantages, of which a pernicious use may be made. For to turn the mind from such things requires, besides a commanding will, a strong power and the combination of many circumstances. But the ignorant people do not understand this, and therefore they calumniate the truth, and declare it to be lies, or the work of the devil."

In reply to the charge of being eccentric, and of desiring to establish a new doctrine, he says:—"That I have quitted the track of the multitude of philosophers, I acknowledge; for I admit either none at all, or at most a very small portion, of school philosophy. He who only is acquainted with the ordinary philosophy of the schools, and as a physician, with Galen, I pray to desist from the reading of my treatise, for he is neither in a condition to judge of it, nor even to understand it. It departs too far from his custom.

"What can I expect from severe and ignorant judges?

"Our teaching is founded on a genuine and unquestionable experience, from which, as from a very liberal fountain, the most beautiful stream flows"—(cap. vii. conclus. 6).

"We will, therefore, instigated by love and for the public good, give the cure of six of the most difficult complaints, and which the mob of physicians declare to be incurable. These are—Insanity, epilepsy, impotence, dropsy, lameness, and continued as well as intermittent fever,"—(l. c. in præfatione.)

Finally, he says in another place,—"Have we not in past ages seen the whole world, as it were, moved into furious hostility against this means of cure? Was it not, by the loud expression of certain experience, which yet must be held even sacred and unquestioned, declared to be sorcery, devilish, and deemed crime and folly?"—(Preface.)

I believe we may conclude from these few passages that Maxwell well understood and was familiar with the practice of magnetism; and that his views upon it so entirely agreed with ours, that the magnetic physician of the present time may adopt his expressions as their own.

GRAHAM was another Scottish physician of Edinburgh, who was not so much a teacher of magic and a defender of magnetism as that he was the introducer of a peculiar bed of state for the healing of diseases; and which may probably be regarded as a very excellent magnetic means, as we have already seen that amongst the ancients there were similar beds placed in the temples for that purpose. He was also said to have discovered a magnetic water and powder. I take from the already mentioned Anti-magnetism the description of this bed:—

"He termed his house the temple of Hygeia, in which he united the useful and agreeable. Everywhere prevailed the highest splendour. In the front court itself, our eye-witness declares that art, discovery, and wealth, had actually exhausted themselves. On the walls of the apartments electric fires made rainbow glories, star-beams gushed out, and transparent glasses of all colours were brought together with infinite taste and discrimination. All this, says the eye-witness, is exciting to the imagination in the highest degree.

His grand means of cure, combined with a spare diet and a bottle of medicine, was his magnetic, elastic bed. This stood in a splendid chamber, to which a cylinder was introduced from an adjoining apartment, and through it was conveyed the healing stream into the sleeping room, as well as all sorts of fragrant but strengthening medicines and Eastern perfumes through glass tubes. The heavenly bed itself rested on six transparent pillars; the bed-clothes, of purple and sky-blue satin, were spread over mattresses,

wet through with Arabian and Oriental odoriferous waters, in the taste of the Persian Court. The room in which it stood he called the Sanctum Sanctorum.

He showed the bed to nobody, not even to those to whom he showed all the rest: "For who," he said, "could resist the pleasure and intoxication that this enchanting place excited?" To all this must be added the melodious tones of the harmonicon, of soft flutes, pleasant voices, and a large organ. He said truly that nothing had restored to shattered nerves their vigour so amazingly as this heavenly bed.

He had this bed in London; and any one who wished to make use of it must apply to him by letter, and send enclosed £50 sterling; on which he received an admission ticket.

VALENTINE GRATERAKES was an Irishman, born in the county of Waterford in 1628. In the year 1662 he dreamed that he possessed the gift of curing goitre by merely laying on his hand. At first he paid no attention; but as he dreamed the same thing again many times, he first made the experiment on his wife, and it succeeded to admiration. He tried it on others, and with the same result. In 1665 he began to use his hand for the cure of all diseases without exception. In 1666 he went to London, where he was summoned by the Court to Whitehall. There he tried his healing power on many persons. But the courtiers endeavoured in all manner of ways to ridicule and insult him, because he did not disdain to cure animals also. He was no longer able to support it, and at length removed to a house near the capital, where he touched and cured diseases.

As his cures were of a kind so wholly magnetic, as no man had so publicly performed such before, and as he produced the same crises and phenomena as the magnetic physicians now produce, we will briefly notice the history of his cures. They may be seen treated more at large in the writings of Pechlin (Observationes phys. med. lib. iii. c. 2, 1691), and in the monthly publications of Berlin (1786), and also in Deleuze's "Critical History of Animal Magnetism."

Pechlin says, "Amongst the most astonishing cures which history records, are those of an Irish gentleman in London, Oxford, and other cities of England and Ireland.

He himself published in London in 1666 a full account of them. 'Val. Graterakes, Esq., of Waterford, in the kingdom of Ireland, famous for curing several diseases and distempers by the stroak of his hand only: London, 1660.'"

Pechlin believes that no doubt whatever can be entertained of the reality of his cures, as they are related in his own work; and they are, therefore, worthy of being translated into all languages. Pechlin caused a number of letters and testimonies to be printed, which place the veracity and the character of Graterakes in the clearest light. In the first place, Joh. Glanville, the author of "Scepsis Scientifica," in which he treated all learning and human science as open to doubt, and who was also a chaplain to Charles II., says in a letter that Graterakes was a simple, amiable, and pious man, a stranger to all deceit. The same testimony was given to him by George Rust, Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. The bishop says that he was three weeks at his house, where he had an opportunity of observing his sound morals, and the great number of his cures of the sick. Through the simple laying on of his hands he drove the pains to the extremities of the limbs. Many times the effect was very rapid and as if by magic. If the pains did not immediately give way, he repeated his rubbings, and always drove them from the nobler parts to the less noble, and finally into the limbs.

The Bishop relates still further:—"I can as eye-witness assert that Graterakes cured dizziness, very bad diseases of the eyes and ears, old ulcers, goitre, epilepsy, glandular swellings, scirrhous indurations, and cancerous swellings. I have seen swellings disperse in five days that were many years old, but I do not believe by supernatural means; nor did his practice exhibit anything sacred. The cure was sometimes very protracted, and the diseases only gave way through repeated exertions; some altogether resisted his endeavours."

It appeared to the bishop that something healing, something balsamic, flowed from him. Graterakes himself was persuaded that his power was an especial gift of God. He healed even epidemic complaints by his touch, and on that account he believed it his duty to devote himself to the cure of diseases.

To the bishop's may be added the testimonies of two physicians, Faireklow and Astel, who very assiduously inquired into the reality of his cures.

"I was struck," says Faireklow, "with his gentleness and kindness to the unhappy, and by the effects which he produced by his hand."

Astel says,—"I saw Graterakes in a moment remove most violent pains merely by his hand. I saw him drive a pain from the shoulder to the feet. If the pains in the head or the intestines remained fixed, the endeavour to remove them was frequently followed by the most dreadful crises, which even seemed to bring the patient's life into danger; but by degrees they disappeared into the limbs, and then altogether. I saw a scrofulous child of twelve years with such swellings that it could not move, and he dissipated merely with his hand the greatest part of them. One of the largest, however, he opened, and so healed it with his spittle." Finally, Astel says that he saw a number of other cures, and repeats the testimonies of Rust and Faireklow on the character of Graterakes.

The celebrated Robert Boyle, President of the Royal Society of London, says:—"Many physicians, noblemen, clergymen, etc., testify to the truth of Graterakes' cures, which he published in London. The chief diseases which he cured were blindness, deafness, paralysis, dropsy, ulcers, swellings, and all kinds of fevers." Finally, it is said that "he laid his hand on the part affected, and so moved the disease downwards."

The celebrated innkeeper, Richter, of Stoyen in Silesia, was some years ago a second Graterakes.

Amongst the Italians Baptista Porta, Cordanus, Campanella, and Athanasius Kircher deserve to be mentioned.

The first has contributed most eminently to convince the world of the superstition and groundlessness of sorcery, and the supernatural doings of devils; and to shew that such uncommon phenomena are partly the work of nature, and partly the tricks and delusions of self-interest, and has thereby rendered important services to magnetism.

In his book on Natural Magic (Magia naturalis, Lugduni, 1569), he says:—There is a universal World-spirit, which

unites all with all; which produces and purifies our souls, and thus renders them capable of magic arts. Many circumstances and changes can be explained by sympathy and antipathy; but which proceed from this world-spirit. Sympathy depends on the attraction of kindred things; and antipathy on the repulsion of dissimilar things. You find in Porta's work especially, fine observations on harmony, sympathy, etc.

Cardanus, also, that extraordinary eccentric, deserves to be mentioned, partly on account of opinions agreeing with magnetism, and partly as a remarkable magnetic phenomenon, because, through his dreams and visions, which he procured at will, he could put himself into the clearest state of ecstasy, in which, according to his own assurances, he saw and heard things that lay far in futurity. His father, Facius Cardanus, had before had an ethereal familiar spirit, which showed him what he was to do (Cardanus de verum varietate, lib. v. c. 93.) His collected works were published at Lyons in 1663, in two folio volumes, and he himself was provided with a familiar spirit like Socrates, Plotinus, Sinesius, Dion, and Flavius Josephus.

Thomas Campenella has made himself very famous through his doctrines and through his book—"De sensu rerum et magia." Whilst he undertook in these writings to teach magic, and explain it by natural causes and effects, he was accused of sorcery, and cast into prison, and brought to trial for suspected heresy.

ATHANASIUS KIRCHER.

The most celebrated of all was Father Kircher, a man of very sagacious spirit, of the most extensive learning, and comprehensive knowledge; who through his numberless experiments and enquiries in natural philosophy, through his many travels, through his impartiality, brought the spirit of his age into strong excitement, and endeavoured to purify the study of nature from superstition, credulity, and erroneous views.

Magnetism was in his time already a subject which engaged the attention of all the learned in an extraordinary

manner. It must be confessed that it was still the enigmatical play of mineral magnetism more than any other, but which, through its phenomena, and the cures connected with it, led to futher enquiries, and men now began to attribute unknown causes and effects to magnetical powers. Every one endeavoured, in his own way, to explain the facts, and the theory of magnetism was continually more confirmed, while the most singular opinions for and against it were brought forward.

This occasioned also Father Kircher, as one of the most zealous and able natural philosophers of the time, to institute a number of experiments, and thereby to establish still more firmly the science of magnetism. He wrote a great work under the title, "Athanasii Kircheri Magnes, sive de arte magnetici, opus tripartitum, Coloniæ, 1643," which is not merely a treatise and a master-piece of natural philosophy, but which also contains a vast deal of high importance to magnetism in its more extended sense. I will quote some of the most remarkable passages.

In the introduction he declaims warmly against the exaggerations, the dreams, and extravagant fancies, by which some, without any personal experience, carried away by the marvels of magnetism, and supporting themselves on uncertain or false conclusions, unsettle all schools with intolerable and shocking fictions. This might perhaps lead to the supposition that Kircher was no especial friend of magnetism. But he exerted himself only to reconcile the wonders which had taken place, with the current ideas and the known laws of nature; and meant thereby to say, that we ought not to denounce unexplained, and for the most part, unknown things, with such loud outcries and with wide-open mouths. He meant also to say, that, if people would not or could not make clear and positive experiments themselves, they should be silent, that they might not propagate lies and false conclusions.

What just ideas Kircher had of magnetism, appears from his exposition of the philosophy of magnetism. "Magnetism," he says, "is thus named because all the wonderful operations of nature become more apparent in the radiations of the magnet; therefore, these effects are only so called from their resemblance to the magnetic radiations. That is to say, the

idea of the demonstration of activity, and the nature of the powers which operate upon each other through mutual emanations, is called magnetism."

According to Kircher all is magnetic, but not all a magnet; for he contested Gilbert's opinion, that the earth is a great magnet. By magnetism, a whole is to be understood, whose parts are bound together and conducted by the attractive and repulsive powers which resemble those of the magnet. He speaks of a magnetism of plants, of animals, of metals, of the elements, of the sun, the moon, and the sea. Mineral magnetism he styled Zoomagnetism. He then speaks of the magnetism of particular fishes, and of electrical bodies; of the magnetism of medical substances; of the imagination, of music, and of love.

He then goes through the three principal kingdoms of nature, and presents many examples of magnetism, or sympathy and antipathy, amongst plants, animals, and even amongst minerals.

From these examples take one of each kind: hostility, that is, antipathy, is apparent even amongst animals. Thus, for example, the vine has a decided hatred to cabbage, and where it perceives it in the neighbourhood, it turns itself away as from a mortal enemy, while, on the contrary, it bends itself towards the olive. The cabbage, again, hates the swinebread (Cyclamen) to such a degree that if they are brought together, they both wither. The sympathy of the two sexes in plants is very striking, so much so that the one is ruined without the other. The country people know very well that they must be placed together; and Pliny has beautifully described this—"Tunc osculo illa manum blande demulcens amorem confitetur, sese illis desiderio stimulatam, hujus vesaniæ remedio affert; quo amor diluatur." Thus the wild figs in Calabria never ripen, although they hang in great quantities, except the male and female trees unite, when they quickly ripen their fruit, and become so firmly attached to each other that they cannot again be separated. For the rest, the love of the ranunculus to the water-lily, of rue to the fig, of the vine to the elm and olive, are universally known.

Kircher farther enumerates a number of plants which have an especial sympathy for the sun and moon, and regu-

larly turn towards them. The acacia, he says, in the vicinity of Rome, is so fond of the sun, that immediately on its rising it unfolds its leaves, and on its setting it closes them so firmly that you might put juniper prickles on them. Many flowers grow till the sun turns back again in Cancer; then continually decline in strength, and at its greatest distance, die.

Kircher (lib. iii. p. 643) speaks of a kind of wolfsmilk (Tithymallus) which the whole day follows the sun even when it is obscured by fog; and Prosper Albinus (De plantis Ægyptiacis, c. 10) relates the same of the Tamarind in the wilderness of St. Macarius, where no other plant grows. He gives many examples of the closing and unclosing of leaves by day and night.

Kircher also gives examples of plants which actually repel and attract, and especially that in Mexico there is a kind of plant very much resembling the pomegranate, the tender shoots of which, cut in pieces, repel each other with the greatest antipathy.

The sympathy amongst animals is very striking, for, in the first place, they will only live on certain spots; in the second place, amongst certain animals; and thirdly, even amongst these have regard to certain qualities.

"The instinct of animals, by which they seek out the salutary and avoid the pernicious, is no other than the propensity amongst plants to good, and antipathy to evil, and whose immediate atmosphere operates beneficially or otherwise; so that from similarity, love, attraction, and sympathy, are produced, and from dissimilarity, hate, repulsion, and antipathy.

Of the sympathy and antipathy of animals, he says further: "Who has taught the hare to fear the hound, and not the much larger stag; who the hen to fear the eagle, and not the peacock or ostrich? Who has taught the parrot and the magpie the art of speaking? Who the dogshead (Cynocephalus) music; bees the art of mensuration; the swallow the art of building, and the spider that of weaving? Who has instructed the hippopotamus in the art of phlebotomy? Who has made known to the swallow the liverwort against blindness; who the aperient quality of the anagallis to fowls and to various water-birds? Only that

inspiration of nature, which is nothing else than the material, or rather the hidden understanding, or the operation of the imagination. If the animals thus know themselves and their circumstances, why should we deny to men the knowledge of powers and of effects from their causes?"

Finally, he refers to an extraordinary kind of attraction amongst animals. The marten runs with the wildest howling and outcries into the open mouth of the great poisonous toad (Bufo). The great American snake attracts by its breath the deer, as a magnet does iron, and crushes it, and licks it over with saliva, in order that he may more easily swallow it. He then alludes to the electrical fishes, as the torpedo, Rana piscatrix. The greenling (Galgulus sive Icterus) cures the jaundice merely by the patient looking at it.

Of the sympathy of the mineral kingdom, he relates, amongst other things, the observation of Alpinus (Prosper Alpinus de medicina Ægypt. lib. i. c. 6,) that a piece of earth taken out of the Nile, dried, and carefully kept, never changed during the whole year, till on the 17th of June it became all at once heavier; from which circumstances it was inferred that the Nile rose then.

He also speaks of Selenite (l. c. p. 946) which had a speck on its surface, which according to the changes of the moon increased or decreased. A similar stone was in the possession of Pope Leo X., which changed the blue colour into white according to the quarter of the moon. Also, Cardanus speaks of a stone which he calls a Helite gem, which belongs to the Pope Clemens VIII. This had a gold-coloured speck which changed its place according to the rise and setting of the sun.

Especially striking is the magnetism of music. Here we see how, through the instrumentality of the nerves, the soul and the passions are put in motion. The harmonicon is preferable for this purpose to all other instruments, of one of which he gives a description, which deserves now to be imitated. This consists of five simple glasses, supplied with different liquors, which touch each other. In the one is brandy, in another wine, in another oil, and in another water. In order to play upon them you must wet the finger and rub it on the edge of the glasses. It is very remarkable that Mesmer used this very harmonicon for magnetic cures. In the mode

of explaining these phenomena, Kircher has also much in common with Mesmer; and he speaks of the streaming of all things together. "Præterea cum omnes res agant effluxum quendam," etc.

Kircher treats of the magnetism of the imaginative power, and amongst other subjects he particularly introduces pregnant women:—"The Arabs," he says, "and particularly Avicenna and his disciples, believe in such a power of the imagination, that it not only has influence over the body, but can move and change external substances without any intermediate body. Even the animals possess more or less of this power, and, indeed, the more they have of it, the nobler they appear. Truly a strong and very striking power of imagination does not belong to all. The influence of a strong will on others is so much the stronger when the three following circumstances combine:—1st. Nobility of soul; 2nd. Strong motive power of the imagination; and 3rdly. The absence of a resistant power (subjectum non repugnans.) In this manner some cure the least healable of diseases, and are cognizant of future and absent events. I have already quoted the passage where he says that a free mind destitute of all worldly sensuality arrives at the clearest vision of all things. But that the imagination can do something may be seen in those persons who, whenever they think of the fire and punishment of hell, fall into a violent perspiration. In women, too, the power of the imagination is greater than in men, and especially when they are pregnant."

Finally, the magnetism of love is the originator and maintainer of all things under God. Arts and sciences emanate from it, The artist knows it, as well as the athlete, the landsman, the musician, the astrologer, the diviner, and the theologian. Love in its ordinary sense, he says, is a kind of fever: "Amor febris species."

His opinions respecting the magnetism of the earth, of plants, and stars, are very interesting, as well as on the accordance and mutual movements of the heaven and the earth, the latter of which, however, he imagines to stand still, and the sun to go round it. He says that the earlier philosophers never denied this accordance, but have perceived that the sun binds all things to himself, and also imparts

this uniting power to other things, which probably no one except the stone-blind will deny.

Finally, what Kircher says of the antidotes against poisonous animals, and which he corroborates from his own experience, deserves to be quoted. The sting or bite of a venomous creature can be most effectually cured by an application of part of the very animal from which the mischief has proceeded. For instance, the bite of a viper is cured by eating the flesh of the viper. The scorpion cures the bite of the scorpion, as he had himself witnessed in Germany. The great poisonous toad cured the plague-boil, being previously dried in the sun, and then laid upon it.

From this it follows, of course, that the true antidote of hydrophobia is in the animal whose bite produces the disease, which Lemnius also asserts (Levinus Lemnius de occultis naturæ miraculis), who recommends to take some hairs, or to eat some part of the same animal. Some years ago a Swiss physician tried it, and especially recommended drinking the blood of the mad dog.

TENZEL WIRDIG.

Tenzel Wirdig was a professor of Rastock, and in 1673 published a book which created a great sensation—"Tenzelius Wirdig, Nova medicina spirituum." He went farther than all his predecessors, asserting that in nature and in bodies there was more life, movement, and magnetism, than men had hitherto commonly supposed. With great address, and great learning, he demonstrated that the whole of nature was ensouled, and extended the theory of Kepler still wider than he had done himself, though he asserted the earth to be a large animal.

There is, according to him, an accordance between the souls of all the bodies on the earth, in the stars of heaven, and, where they are of congenial nature, an attraction, and a repugnance and a constant strife between those which are of an opposite nature. "Out of this relationship of sympathy and antipathy arises a constant movement in the

whole world, and in all its parts, and an uninterrupted communion between heaven and earth, which produces universal harmony. The stars whose emanations consist merely of fire and spirits, have an undeniable influence on earthly bodies; and their influence on man demonstrates itself by life, movement, and warmth, those things without which he cannot live. The influence of the stars is the strongest at birth. The new-born child inhales this influence, and on whose first breath frequently his whole constitution depends, nay even his whole life."

The relation between spirits of sympathy and antipathy, whether they be of the earth or of heaven, is what Wirdig calls magnetism: "Magnetism is the accordance of spirits."

As the whole world is ensouled, so is it also subjected to magnetism; for everything approximates to its like, and removes from that which is unlike, as the magnet does. Everything lives and exists through magnetism, and everything perishes through magnetism. He extends this sympathy into all things; speaks of the sympathy amongst men in general; between persons of the same sex; between the mother and child; of the sympathy of the different parts of the body; of the blood, etc. He gives an instance of one person influencing another at a great distance whence illness was produced. This in modern times has frequently been confirmed, and is stated by Hufeland in his work on magic, published in Berlin in 1817. He also gives the account of a nose which had been cut from the back of a porter, but which when the porter died, died too, and fell off from its artificial position,—a relation confirmed by Van Helmont, Campanella, and Servius. A piece of skin taken from a living head had the hair turn grey at the same time as that on the head from which it was taken.

Of the many learned men of whom more might be said here, I must at least give the names.

Amongst the most distinguished disciples of Paracelsus, the defenders of a magico-theosophical science were in France,—Jacob Gohory, Joseph du Chesne, and especially the learned philosopher Peter Poiret Naudé, in his Apologie pour tous les grandes personages qui ont été faussement soupçonnés de magie, Haye, 1679. Gaffarel, Rueil Phara-

mond; Ernst Burggraf (Balneum Dianæ magnet. prescorphilos. claris. Logduni 1600.) Bartholin, Sir Kelham Digby, Santanelli (Philosophia recondita, Coloniæ, 1723.) Edward Medeira in "Novæ philosoph. et medic. qualit. occult. Ulyssipone, 1650.) Thomas Bartholin, in his treatise on the transference of diseases; Andreas Tenzel (Medicina diastatica), or the art of healing which operates at a distance magnetic-sympathetic cures of many diseases, in which man may use magically, animals, plants, and metals. Leipsic and Hoff, 1753. Kräutermann, the curious and simple magical physician, who taught and demonstrated how man not only *ex triplici regno* may prepare remarkable medicines, but also by sympathy and antipathy, by transference, by amulets, and natural magic, can happily cure diseases, or in other words by reputed witchcraft, with excellent recipes, which have been published four different times. Arnstadt, 1737.

To these must be added the theosophist Rosicrucians, Oswald, Croll, Gerhard Dorn, Michael Toxites, Heinrich Kunnath, Ægid Guthmann, Julius Sperber, Valentine Weigel, etc., who may all be found in Brucker's Critical History of Philosophy, vol. iv. p. 644, 750. It is known, too, that Henry More was also a defender of the Cabbalistic philosophy. Opposed to these stand a multitude of antagonists; amongst whom Libavius and Jennert are the most distinguished. The opinions of other philosophers who have treated of magic and magnetism belong also to this place; particularly De Loques, who wrote a treatise on the magnetic power of the blood, 1664. Farther, the great Descartes was a teacher of the magnetic doctrine. For he asserted that all space is filled with a fluid matter, which he held to be elementary, and the foundation and fountain of all life, which encloses all globes and keeps them in motion. The Cartesian vortexes are well known, and have more in common with the magnet streams of Mesmer than people suppose who have not carefully examined the subject.

Even Newton, whom men are accustomed to call the light of the world, belongs to the catalogue of magnetic teachers. Preeminently is his doctrine of attraction and of universal space, which he, and still more his defender, Samuel Clarke, termed the Divine sensorium, a magnetic doctrine. But

this is still more seen in the third book of his Fundamental Principles of Natural Philosophy, where it is said—"Here the question is of a very subtle spirit which penetrates through all, even the hardest bodies, and which is concealed in their substance. Through the strength and activity of this spirit, bodies attract each other, and adhere together when brought into contact. Through it electrical bodies operate at the remotest distances, as well as near at hand, attracting and repelling; through this spirit the light also flows and is refracted and reflected, and warms bodies. All senses are excited by this spirit, and through it the animals move their limbs. But these things cannot be explained in few words, and we have not yet sufficient experience to determine fully the laws by which this universal spirit operates."

These magnetic doctrines struck, as we have seen, deep root in many countries after Paracelsus; deeper in France, and deepest, perhaps, of all, in Germany. But in general in the last century people began to give up their faith in them. There came a pause till about the year seventy, when they became again vigorously agitated. Gassner, Cagliostro, and Swedenborg, diffused afresh, by their conjurations and their spirit-seeing, a panic-terror, and Mesmer, who indeed had little to do with spirits, by his discovery of the cure of diseases by animal magnetism, completely turned people's heads.

Gassner, a clergyman from the country of Bludenz, in Vorarlberg, healed many diseases through exorcism. In the year 1758 he was the clergyman of Klösterle, where, by his exorcisms, he became so celebrated, that he drew a vast number of people to him. The flocking of the sick from Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Swabia, is said to have been so great, that the number of invalids was frequently more than a thousand, and they were, many of them, obliged to live under tents. The Austrian government gave its assistance, and Gassner now went under the patronage of the Bishop to Regensburg, where he continued to work wonders, till, finally, Mesmer, on being asked by the Elector of Bavaria, declared that Gassner's cures and crises, which he so rapidly, and wholly to the astonishment of the spectators, produced, consisted in nothing more than in magnetic-spiritual excitement, of which he gave convincing proofs in the presence of

the Elector. Eschenmayer, in Keiser's Archives, treats at length of Gassner's method of cure.

Gassner's mode of proceeding was as follows:—He wore a scarlet cloak, and on his neck a silver chain. He usually had in his room a window on his left hand, and a crucifix on his right. With his face turned towards the patient, he touched the ailing part, and commanded that the disease should manifest itself; which was generally the case. He made this both cease and depart by a simple command. By calling on the name of Jesus, and through the faith of the patient, he drove out the devil and the disease. But every one that desired to be healed must believe, and through faith any clergyman may cure devilish diseases, spasms, fainting, madness, etc., or free the possessed. Gassner availed himself sometimes of magnetic manipulations: he touched the affected part, covered it with his hand, and rubbed therewith vigorously both head and neck. Gassner spoke chiefly Latin in his operations, and the devil is said often to have understood him perfectly. Physical susceptibility, with willing faith and positive physical activity, through the command of the Word was thus the magical cure with him.

There were, in the year seventy, a multitude of writings both for and against Gassner's operations. These appeared principally in Augsburg, and amongst them two are particularly worthy of notice; the first, under the title of "Impartial Thoughts, or something for the Physicians on the mode of cure, by Herr Gassner in Elwangen, published by Dr. Schisel, and printed in Sulzbach, 1775." The other, "The Observations of an Impartial Physician on Herr Lavater's Grounds of Enquiry into the Gassner Cures, with an appendix on Convulsions, 1775;" probably by the same author.

Dr. Schisel relates that with a highly respectable company, he himself travelled to Elwangen, and there saw himself the wonderful cures the fame of which had been spread far and wide by so many accounts both in newspapers and separate printed articles. "Some," he says, "describe him as a holy and prophetic man; others accuse him of being a fantastic fellow, a charlatan, and impostor. Some extol him as a great mathematician; others denounce him as a dealer in the black art; some attribute his cures to the magnet, or to elec-

trical power; others to sympathy and the power of imagination; and, on the other hand, a respectable party, overcome by the might of faith, attributed the whole to the omnipotent force of the name of Jesus."

Schisel writes further, that he gave himself all possible trouble to notice everything which might in the most distant manner affect the proceedings of the celebrated Herr Gassner. Schisel, indeed, seems to have been the man, from his quiet power of observation, his impartial judgment, and thorough medical education, which qualifications are all evident in his book, to give a true account of the cures of Gassner, while he notices all the circumstances, objections, and opinions, which had been brought forward or which presented themselves there. He relates that Elwangen must have grown rich through the numbers of people who thronged thither, though Gassner took nothing for his trouble, and that the Elector on that account tolerated the long-continued concourse of people; that in March 1553 many hundred patients arrived daily; that the apothecary gained more in one day than he otherwise would in a quarter of a year from the oil, eye-water, a universal powder made of Blessed Thistle, (Carduus benedictus) and the incenses, etc., which Gassner ordered. The printers laboured, with all their workmen, day and night at their presses, to furnish sufficient pamphlets, prayers, and pictures, for the eager horde of admirers. The goldsmiths and braziers were unwearied in preparing all kinds of Agnus Dei, crosses, hearts, and rings; even the beggars had their harvest, and as for bakers and hotel-keepers, it is easy to understand what they must have gained.

He then describes the room of Herr Gassner, his costume, and his proceeding with the sick:—"On a table stood a crucifix, and at the table sat Herr Gassner on a seat, with his right side turned towards the crucifix, and his face towards the patient, and towards the spectators also. On his shoulders hung a blue red-flowered cloak; the rest of his costume was clean, simple, and modest. A fragment of the cross of the Redeemer hung on his breast from a silver chain; a half-silken sash girded his loins. He was forty-eight years of age, of a very lively countenance, cheerful in conversation, serious in command, patient in teaching, amiable towards every one, zealous for the honour

of God, compassionate towards the oppressed, joyful with those of strong faith, acute in research, prophetic in symptoms and quiet indications; an excellent theologian, a fine philosopher, an admirable physiognomist, and I wished that he might possess as good an acquaintance with medical physiology as he showed himself to have a discrimination with surgical cases. He is in no degree a politician; he is an enemy of sadness; forgiving to his enemies, and perfectly regardless of the flatteries of men. For twenty years he carried on this heroic conflict against the powers of hell, thirteen of these in quietness, but seven publicly, and of these last he had now passed six months victoriously in Elwangen.

"Thus armed he undertook in this room all his public proceedings, which he continued daily, from early morning till late at night; nay, often till one or two o'clock in the morning. The more physicians there are around him, the bolder he was in causing the different diseases to show themselves; nay, he called upon the unknown physicians themselves. Scarcely do those who are seeking help kneel before him, when he enquires respecting their native country and their complaints; then his instruction begins in a concise manner, which relates to the steadfastness of faith, and the omnipotent power of the sacred name of Jesus. Then he seizes both hands of the kneeling one, and commands with a loud and proud voice the alleged disease to appear. He now seizes the affected part,—that is, in the gout, the foot; in paralysis, the disabled limb and joint; in headache, the head and neck; in those troubled with flatulence, he lays his hand and cloak on the stomach; in the narrow-chested, on the heart; in hemorrhoidal complaints, on the back-bone; in the rheumatic and epileptic he not only lays hold on each arm, but alternately places both hands, and the hands and cloak together, over the whole head.

"In many cases the disease appears immediately on being commanded, but in many he is obliged to repeat the command often, and occasionally ten times, before the attack shows itself; in some, but the fewest in number, the command and laying on of hands have no effect.

"The first class he terms the good and strong-faithed; the second those of hesitating and feeble faith; the last

either naturally diseased, or pretendedly so, and unbelieving. All these attacks retreat by degrees, each according to its kind, either very quickly on his command, but sometimes not till the tenth or twentieth time, from limb to limb. In some the attacks appeared repressed but not extinguished; in others the commencement of a wearing sickness, with fever and spitting of blood; in others intumescence even to suffocation and with violent pains; others gout and convulsions.

"When he has now convinced the spectator, and thinks that he has sufficiently strengthened the faith and confidence of the sufferer, the patient must expel the attack himself by the simple thought of 'Depart from me in the name of Jesus Christ!' And in this consists the whole method of cure and confirmation which Gassner employs in all kinds of sickness which we call unnatural. Through these he calls forth all the passions. Now anger is apparent, now patience, now joy, now sorrow, now hate, now love, now confusion, now reason,—each carried to the highest pitch. Now this one is blind, now he sees, and again is deprived of sight, etc.

"All take their leave of him, filled with help and consolation, so soon as he has given them his blessing, which he thus administers:—"He lays the cloak on the head of the patient; grasps the forehead and neck with both hands firmly; speaks silently a very earnest prayer; signs the brow, mouth, and breast of the convalescent with the sign of the cross; and extends to the Catholics the fragment of the cross to kiss; orders, according to the form of the sickness, the proper medicines at the apothecary's, the oil, water, powder, and herbs, which are consecrated by him every day; exhorts every one to steadfastness in faith, and permits no one, except those who are affected with defects born with them, to depart without clean hands and countenances full of pleasure.

"He excludes no single sickness, no kind of fever, not even any epidemic disorder. May not the science of medicine, therefore, partly fear that it will soon be superseded by this moral theory?

"We may now inquire what diseases Gassner calls natural, and what unnatural? For instance, a broken bone, a

maimed limb, or a rupture, are complaints with natural causes; but all such as are produced either by want of, or by a superfluity of the natural conditions of the body, are curable,—as the cataract, which he cures to the astonishment of every one. We may give another demonstration. Two lame persons appear. One has the *tendo Achillis* or a nerve injured. He is healed, indeed, but the foot remains crooked. This is a natural lameness. The pious crooked man has no hope of assistance from Herr Gassner. The second has a similar shortness of the foot, but the cause of which was gout, wasting of the limb, or paralysis. This is unnatural lameness; and will be cured by Herr Gassner as quickly as the name of it is here written."

"Here you have now the portrait of this new wonder-physician, of our great Herr Gassner,"—sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat. "How does it please you? Have you anything to object to the original, or to the picture?"

The author now puts to the physicians and to the academicians the question whether Gassner actually cured these diseases as related, and whether in his mode of cure there be a hidden magnetic, sympathetic, or magic power? How does he heal, and what circumstances attend the cures? This alone concerns the doctors. "The clergy may settle with him witch-trials, and whether the devil in so many ways can injure men. Whether the accusers of Herr Gassner, 'ex lege diffamari,' deserve punishment, or whether Herr Gassner ought to be considered guilty as a deceiver, is a question for the lawyers and criminal judges." He then proceeds to answer these questions, with the admission "that he," like many of his learned brethren, is somewhat incredulous, and often tolerably stiff-necked. "For," says he, "it would not be creditable if I should take a thing for granted without cause, enquiry, or conviction." To the first question, whether all those diseases were healed, he answers,—"Yes, I have seen it, with many persons of different religions, and particularly with two most experienced and upright physicians, one a Catholic and one a Protestant. With them I attended nearly all, both public and private opportunities, as eye-witness, and with the most

perfect conviction. How! what will you say? A physician? Fie! for shame!' Yes, I, a physician, and one, indeed, who has written a whole treatise on gout, sought from Herr Gassner help against the hell-torture. Well, do not imagine that on that account I have ceased for a moment to be a physician; for I confess it now candidly, that I rather intended to test Herr Gassner than hoped to derive any cure from him. But a man that sees will not deny that it is day when the sun burns his neck; and a courageous physician will believe that he is ill when he feels pain. All those present, and the aforesaid physicians, fully testify that which we saw, and I myself, to my astonishment, experienced.

"He who will not believe that Herr Gassner cures all kinds of diseases,—he who rejects the evidence of such impartial and overwhelming witnesses, I must either send as one dangerously ill to the water-cure, or, if that does not succeed, to the mad-house; or as a non-natural sufferer to the curative powers of Herr Gassner. But *he* requires believing patients!"

He now proceeds, in the tone of the opposing doctors, that, indeed, every physician has, according to his own statement, cured every kind of disease: some by electricity, and some by other means, by sympathy and imagination. Many also have enquired whether Herr Gassner's crucifix, or the chain on his neck, or his half-silken sash, be not electric? Whether a magnet be not concealed in his cloak, or his hands be stroked with one, or be even anointed with a sympathic ointment!

After he has circumstantially shown that none of these accusations will hold good, he comes to the conclusion—"that Herr Gassner performed all his cures merely by the glorified name of Jesus Christ, and the laying on of his hands and his cloak. But he gives the people oil, eye-water, and the like: he counsels them to use such things after the cure has taken place. He has, however, in order to make the blind see, no eye-water, nor oil to put in motion a paralysed limb; much less, powder and fumigations to drive out the devil. He merely touches the joints of the lame; he rubs the ears and glands of the deaf; he touches

with his fingers the eyelids of the blind; he draws the pains forth under his hands by a commanding strong voice. He commands them with the same power, with an earnest and authoritative voice, to come out and depart, and it takes place. Where, then, is the sympathy, where the electricity, where the magnet, and all philosophical acuteness?"

"Yes; but why then does he not cure all by the same means?"

"Ask your own consciences; enquire into the mode of life and the mode of thinking of your uncured friends, whether they come within the conditions required by Herr Gassner, and possess the three kinds of faith which we mentioned in the opening of this account of Gassner, and you may yourselves answer the question.

"Are you silent? You will then first open your thoughts to me, when you have experienced what has been the permanence of the Gassner mode of cure.

"Herr Gassner demands as a security against a relapse into the sickness, like St. Peter, a constant and perpetual conflict. Wherefore? Because the attacks of our invisible enemy are never ceasing. He prescribes to every one how he can maintain himself in health without his aid; and I assure you on honour sincerely, that I have known many, very many, who have cured themselves of violent illness without going to or having seen Herr Gassner, but merely by following his book by my advice, and who still daily derive benefit from it. And I have never known one person who has relapsed into the old non-natural sickness who has not first deviated from the prescribed rules of Herr Gassner, or wholly abandoned them? Who, then, was to blame?"

JOSEPH BALSAMO, called Count Cagliostro, born in 1743 at Palermo, is generally classed amongst the magicians. There exists, however, no particular doctrine of his; he led with his wife a rambling life through all the countries of Europe. He is accused, at least in the writings, life, and acts of Joseph Balsamo, the so-called Count Cagliostro, from the documents produced against him on his trial at Rome in

1790, and Zurich 1791, of having practised all kind of impositions, of gold-making, and of possessing the secret of prolonging life; that he secretly taught the Cabbalah and cabbalistic arts; that he pretended to call up and exorcise spirits, and actually did frequently foretel future things; and that in small, secret companies, and chiefly by means of a little boy, whom he took aside with him into a separate room, in order to fit him for divining.

It is farther stated, that in the order of Freemasons he assumed the character of an apostle of the Egyptian freemasonry; and that he had heretically attached himself to all sorts of religions. The same charges are brought against him by the Countess von der Recke, in a book on the life and opinions of Cagliostro. From all these accounts, we may set down Cagliostro as an accomplished adventurer, whose magic consisted in this, that he with the boy, or the so-called orphan, or doves, made his experiments in magnetism. For it says in the documents of the trial, pp. 82, 90, etc.,—"This child had to kneel before a small table, on which a can of water and some lighted candles stood. He now instructed the boy to look into the water-can, and so commenced his conjuration; laid his hand on the head of the boy, and in this position addressed a prayer to God for a successful issue of the experiment.

"The child was now clairvoyant, and said at first that he saw something white, then that he saw a child or angel, etc., and after this spoke of all sorts of future things. He availed himself also of an orphan maiden at Mitau, who being already of a marriageable age, could not, of course, be considered as simple and innocent as a small boy. The questions which he put to the orphan girl did not confine themselves to the angel, but extended to the discovery of secrets and future events, when he frequently made his experiments without the can of water, and merely placed the orphan behind a screen. He also, it is not known whether the more thoroughly to convince the spectators or to throw dust in their eyes, laid his hand on other individuals, and transferred to them a portion of his own power. He worked, it says at page 93, through the usual ceremonies, and all was wonderfully corroborated through the appearance of the angel. At page 134 it says, "In what manner does the

sanctifying vision come? In three ways. First, when God makes himself visible, as to the patriarchs; secondly, through the appearance of angels; and, finally, through artistic practices and inward inspiration."

Cagliostro expressly declared before the Inquisition that he had never had anything to do with the devil; and if, he said, "I am a sinner, I trust that a merciful God will forgive me." He declared very distinctly also, p. 146, "that he believed his Egyptian system had nothing whatever to do with the church of Rome, and especially in what related to the employment of the orphans." Cagliostro in 1791 was condemned in full council of the Inquisition for many crimes, and as deserving of the severest punishments awarded to heretics, teachers of error, archheretics, masters and adherents of superstitious magic, and out of especial grace was committed to perpetual imprisonment, instead of suffering death. He died in prison in 1795, at St. Leo in the states of the Church.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

Swedenborg, regarded in more than one point of view, belongs to the history of magic, not because he was himself a magician at all, but because he belongs to magnetism, being a truly remarkable example of a high degree of self-development of the inner sense—of a religious clairvoyance; and also in relation to his philosophy of nature.

The name of Swedenborg is a bugbear to the so-called learned world, which runs from mouth to mouth shrieking, it knows not why. For people take no trouble to know Swedenborg really, or to hear the accused; and if any one has occasionally deigned to ride full gallop, extra-post, through Swedenborg's voluminous writings, he understands, as a stranger from this world, nothing of the spirit-language of the prophet; it is a gibberish to him; and he quits the land in haste, leaving it unknown and deserted behind him, without suspecting the existence of the precious stones and treasures which lie there, or of looking amongst them with diligence and close inspection.

And if in the writings of Swedenborg the seeing of spirits is not to be entirely freed from the charge of phantasy, and if enthusiasm and exaltation are not to be denied, there is still so much that is profound and noble in his works on God and Man, on the Phenomena of Nature, and their harmony with the spiritual, that he must unquestionably be deemed worthy of ranking with the greatest spirits of history: I find it therefore proper to introduce here a concise account of his life and writings, and their influence on our subject.

I take the whole from a book which bears the title: Emanuel Swedenborg's Theological Works; on his theory of God, of the world, heaven, hell, the spiritual world, and the future life. A selection from his collected works. Leipsic, 1789: and immediately from the translation of Swedenborg's writings by Hofacker.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born at Upsala, in Sweden, 29th of January, 1688. His father was bishop of Skara. On account of his distinguished talents, diligence, and acquirements, Swedenborg was appointed in his youth to a prominent post in a provincial college; and distinguished himself in it by his uprightness and disinterestedness. Very soon afterwards, he showed himself by his numerous and profound writings on mineralogy, natural philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, etc., to be one of the most learned and thinking men of his age, and his extensive and frequent travels through the principal counties of Europe at the same time extended his knowledge and his fame. On account of his virtue and learning, esteemed by every one as a man of high worth and blameless morals, Swedenborg somewhere about the year 1740 renounced all worldly intercourse and renown, and devoted himself entirely to inquiries into the spiritual world From this period to that of his death, on the 29th of March, 1772, in London, Swedenborg wrote many works on the spiritual world, and all in the Latin tongue. His writings are based on the solid foundations of the Bible, whose mysterious revelations he laboured to make clear. His diction and doctrine in his works are spiritual, deep, and richly metaphorical, and, therefore, not understood by the world, for they are inward, and treat of the world of spirits and of eternity. For to

them all this is "a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." Job, x. 22.

His observations on heaven, hell, and the spirit-world, of their forms and space, of the spirits, of angels and devils, with whom he often conversed of hidden things, which endeavouring to express figuratively and intelligibly to our senses he described as bodily, material, and wholly contrary to the current opinions, without once remembering (in order to prevent misconception) to remind the reader that these must be spiritually understood. These observations have drawn upon him the great majority of his opponents and mortal enemies. It is not my concern to treat these observations either as dreams or pictures of the imagination, or as deep visions, and at the same time there is a probability or truth in them, a matured philosophy and true magic, which I feel bound to bring forward, in order thence to extract knowledge for us the living, and to award to the dead the honour to which he is justly entitled.

But as I cannot go very far into these matters, I will extract some passages from the book before mentioned, and from its chapters on God, on Creation, on Man and his life on the earth; and the rest of Swedenborg's works which may be studied with advantage, are the following:—1st. Dædalus Hyperboreus, or inquiries and observations on mathematical and physical subjects. 2nd. Prodromus principiorum rerum naturalium, etc., 1721. 3rd. Opera philosoph. et mineralia, 3 tom. in-folio, 1734. 4th. Prodromus philos. ratiocinantes, de infinito, de causa creationis, et de mechanicismo operationis animæ et corporis, 1733. 5th. Regnum animale, 1745. 6th. Arcana cœlestia, 8 tom. 7th. De telluribus in mundo solari, London, 1758. 8th. De commercio animæ et corporis, 1769. 9th. De miraculis divinis et magicis, etc. 10th. Then his many works on the spiritual world, de cultu et amore Dei, de cœlo et inferno, de nova Hierosolyma, deliciæ sapientiæ, etc., nearly all of which were published in London. The more modern works on Swedenborg's writings which may be recommended are principally, The Spirit of Emanuel Swedenborg's Philosophy, with a catechetical review, and a complete register of contents, published by Dr. Vorherr. Munich, 1832. Ludwig

Hofacker has already published various excellent translations of Swedenborg's writings, as, 1st. Heaven and its wonderful phenomena, and Hell, as seen and heard. Tübingen, 1830. 2nd. The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body. 3rd. The New Church of the Lord, according to intelligence out of Heaven. Both of the same year. And Swedenborg's Divine Revelations, by Dr. F. Imman. Tafel of Tübingen; already since 1823 seven volumes.

FROM THE CHAPTER ON GOD AND THE CREATION.

"There is only one God, who, as uncreated and infinite, can alone say of himself—'I am he who is.' God is man. To the angels he appears only in human form; and men on earth bear his image; therefore he said—'Let us make man in our own image.' Properly, the Lord only is man; and amongst all those that he has created those are especially men who retain his divine influence. God is wisdom and love. In heaven the divine love and wisdom reveal themselves in the form of a spiritual sun, which is not God, but an emanation of the godhead. The warmth of this sun is love, and its light is wisdom. Wisdom is the breath of the divine power, and a ray of the glory of the Almighty.

"God, as Love, does not stand alone, because love does not embrace itself, but others; therefore he made creatures. From love he created the world by his wisdom; immediately through the spiritual sun, and mediately through the natural sun, which is the instrument of the first.

"The spiritual alone is the living; the natural is dead; consequently the one must be created, the other uncreated. The spiritual sun has its spiritual atmosphere, which is the receptacle of the divine light. Through the medium of this atmosphere the spiritual sun produces spiritual circumstances. The outward circles of this atmosphere produced our natural sun, which in like manner has its atmosphere. These atmospheres, or active natures, decrease by degrees in activity and power of conception, and at last constitute

masses, the parts of which are held together by pressure. This, then, is that which on earth we call matter.

"All substances bear the impress of the infinite. Matter has, though it comes from God, nothing divine, but it probably has from the spirit-sun, that which in it is divine, and has retained it in the transference, namely, life, or a striving after reproduction. It strives towards this good —it strives from habit; and the habit passes once into form through a continuous series of operations. The habit of creation or of the created consists also in forms; and these represent an image of divine creation. Of these forms there are three kinds—minerals, plants, and animals.

"In these forms three steps are observable, which represent creations; for the sun mediately, through warmth and light, produces masses known under the name of minerals, and gives to each its distinguishing form. This progression is observed in plants, as the seed by development produces a stalk, which bears fruit.

"The forms of the animal world are produced in the same manner. The seed is the cause in the mother, or the egg, which here supplies the place of the earth. The seed in the case of the fœtus is the root, and the animal produced from the egg is, at the time of its capability of reproducing, comparable to the growth of the plant at the period when it begins to bear fruit.

"This progression is observable also in the organic form of man. These living and producing actions of the three kingdoms do not proceed from natural warmth, the natural light and atmosphere, for these are dead, but from those of the spiritual world. But from these actions we recognise the unity and similarity of the laws of all being. This natural creation is a mere correspondence, a copy, a symbol of the spiritual creation, as the only true one. The first is only present to remind us of the second.

"All these are intended to place before us the infinite wisdom and love of God; they are meant to show us that the objects which he has created are the immeasurable and incalculable forms of his thoughts and representations.

"God knows no succession of time. His power, his works, all that is and can be, according to the divine order-

ing, is constantly present to him; and we can form no idea of the creation of the world till we withdraw ourselves from the ideas of time and space. If we do this, then we comprehend that the greatest and smallest part of space are by no means different to each other, and the representation of the creation of the world will be like that which we have of the creation of each individual creature.

"The unconfined, the infinite, has its seat in the spiritual sun, as in its first emanation; so that these things exist in unlimited number in the created world. And it thence comes that in the world we scarcely find two creatures alike; for God is infinite, and contains an infinite number of things in himself. From this proceeds the natural sun, the fire-sea, which has the spiritual sun for its prototype; and, still more, the vast variety of material existences in this world, and of spiritual beings in the spiritual world.

FROM THE CHAPTER ON MAN.

"As the being of God consists of love, it follows that love is the life of men, and wisdom the nature or the existence of this love. Love is the soul, life is the spirit, or the inner man, who consists of two powers—understanding and will. The life of man consists in his love; and as his love is constituted so is his life.

"The body is a provided covering; for the spiritual strives to clothe itself with the natural as with a garb. The body, which is merely the obeying portion, constitutes the outward, natural or physical man. The bodily life of man consists in the agreement of the will with the heart, and of the understanding with the lungs; in fact, thought, as the action of the understanding, puts in motion the organs of speech. The outer man, or the body, is the instrument or means by which the soul in this world feels in a physical manner. There are consequently two men—a spiritual and a natural or an inward and outward; but both are united by mutual agreement. Man was so made that he can by means of his inward being be in the spirit-world, and by means of his outward being in the natural world.

"Spiritual light and spiritual warmth proceed from God into the soul of man, and thence into the bodily senses, into word and deed. The susceptibility to this influence is always in proportion to the amount of love and wisdom in man, and proceeds by degrees or gradations.

"In the spirit of man there are three gradations—the heavenly, the spiritual, and the natural; love, wisdom, and the application of the same; will, understanding, and action. The three grades of the human spirit harmonize with each other through agreement, and open themselves through the influence of heaven from the first to the last; that is, as soon as a man begins to do good, he opens to it the body, the next step opens the second, and the third which receives the influence of the Lord.

"Man steps by his birth into the natural grade, which he runs through. The first grade does not, indeed, open to him the second, but it prepares him for it through the acquisition of knowledge, with which the love of applying it germinates; that is, the love of your neighbour, the knowledge of our mutual necessities, etc. This spiritual grade increases by the knowledge of the true and good, conducts to the heavenly love of application, to a practical love of God, which opens the third grade.

"The natural spirit embraces and contains the two higher grades of the human soul, and reacts upon them when these grades are not opened. The outer man resists the inner; the flesh, says Paul, strives against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. By means of the natural grade the natural man can lift up the power of his understanding to the heavenly light, and recognise perfectly spiritual things. But he can only so far lift up his will or his love to God, as he uses that which reason prescribes to him, because the two higher grades are contained in the application.

"Man is not man on account of his body and his countenance, but because he has will and reason, and through them the power of intercourse with God. The perfect man is spiritual; for him, body, sense, and the world, are but guide-posts, which direct him back to the originator. His action consists in the active love which a man exercises; for he does what he loves; his speech is the expression of his wisdom, the children and forms of love. His work is the

exercise of his thoughts, which proceed from love; for what a man loves, he retains in remembrance.

"This is the description of the inner man, which is actually in heaven and in intercourse with heavenly spirits, even while his earthly life continues. This last is to a certain degree no proper life, for the true man only begins to live, according to the testimony of the ancients, after his death.

"The spiritual receives the influence of God; the bodily, on the contrary, is perishable by hereditary law, which we have inherited with our bodies from our fathers. The spiritual bases itself on our love to God and to our neighbour; the natural, on the contrary, on the love to itself and to earthly things.

"They who permit themselves to be overcome by sensual appetites resemble the animals, and continue in that grade, while there are two higher ones which they close against themselves. He, therefore, is merely an animal, when the understanding is subjected to the will and to the senses. This outward man has frequently only outward thoughts; he ponders and judges with ardour and cunning, because his thoughts are very near to his speech, and are chiefly contained in it. His understanding rests wholly on his sensations and his memory. This man may be learned, because knowledge and science are contained in his natural grade; but if he do not direct his faculties towards heaven, and if his science have not God for its object, the other grades remain closed against him, and the learned man, proud man as he is, judging according to his senses, only resembles the animals, and does not possess the truth nor know the good. All this is testified by the examples of many learned men, who, with all their science, are the greatest enemies of God and their own souls.

"The outward is usually false and hypocritical, because, in the true meaning of the word, he is double, and has the two parts of his being separate. The spiritual man is necessarily upright and true, because he is simple and single; in him the spiritual has drawn towards it the natural, and appropriated it.

"The learned man, who regards everything in reference to

himself and to the senses, makes himself like the animal, and has light only in the animal instinct. The outward is sufficient for human wisdom, but not for that of God, as that which comes alone from Him. This last is the only higher science which in the eyes of God has any value; but it alone is of true value to man. What advantage to him are physics, or the eloquence of other men? None. The happiness of life consists in this, that we love God and our neighbour. The rude but religious man is often more enlightened than the most celebrated academicians of Europe, because he is an inner and spiritual man. He possesses love and faith, which alone ennoble the earth; he possesses the good and the true, in which is contained the sum of God and of all created beings."

How man is the beginning and topstone of creation Swedenborg expresses in this manner:—"Man has, besides this, something which the angels have not; as he is not only in the spiritual world through his inward nature, but in the physical world through his outward nature. This outward world of nature expresses all that lies in the region of thought and imagination, which are outward and according to nature, in general knowledge and science, with their joys and attractions, so far as they belong to the world, and then, also, the farther enjoyment which belongs to the sensuous system of his body, and, beyond this, sense itself, speech and action; all these complete the last in which divine influence encloses itself; for this does not stand still in a half career, but penetrates to the last. Thus there lies in man the terminating line of the divine plan, and because he is the terminating line he is also the foundation, and fundamentally firm; and as there is nothing free from bonds, so it follows that there is such a bond between heaven and the human race; that the one determines itself through the other, and that the human race without the heaven is a chain without a hook, but the heaven without the human race would be a house without a foundation. It is man to which the whole divine plan refers, and from the creation to this time he is the divine plan in exposition. In the degree, however, in which man lives according to the divine plan, he appears in another life a more perfect and also a more beautiful being."

FROM THE CHAPTER ON FAITH.

"Faith consists in the conviction that we shall be happy through faith and good works. We receive this when we turn to the Lord; when we study the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and order our lives according to them. Faith without love is no faith; and love without faith is no love. If you do good, you believe; if you do evil, you doubt, or believe nothing at all.

"The Lord, faith, and love, are one; as are the will, the understanding, and the life in man; if you separate them, they fall and are annihilated, as a broken pearl falls into the dust. The Lord infuses faith and love into the understanding and will of man: thus faith and love are the Lord: how could he divide himself?

"Love and faith are also in good works. Love is the desire of good; good works are the completion of the good; and this completion has its foundation in the object which agrees with love and wisdom, or with faith. Without good works, faith and love are a cobweb of the brain, while the man consisting of the three grades is a whole, and in all that he does must be as a whole, otherwise he does nothing well. If the conduct be not according to religion, then a man's religion is not pure; the good and true do not dwell in his will and understanding, consequently he has neither the love nor the faith which flow from them; he is not in the church, and has no religion.

"Faith and love are necessary to the doing of good. Love alone brings forth no good work; and still less faith alone. There is but one true and upright faith, of which we have spoken; there is a spurious faith, which departs from the truth through sin, pride, and heresy; and a hypocritical faith, which is nothing at all, because the hypocrite is merely an outward, sensual, and fleshly man. His propensities are that which he is himself; the good which he appears to do comes not from love, and is not genuine goodness."

FROM THE CHAPTER ON THE PLAN OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

AND ON THE CORRESPONDENCES.

"The universe is an image of God, and was made for use. Providence is the government of the Lord in heaven and on earth. It extends itself over all things, because there is only one fountain of life, namely, the Lord, whose power supports all that exists.

"The influence of the Lord is according to a plan, and is invisible, as is Providence, by which men are not constrained to believe, and thus to lose their freedom. The influence of the Lord passes over from the spiritual to the natural, and from the inward to the outward. The Lord confers his influence on the good and the bad, but the latter converts the good into evil, and the true into the false; for so is the creature or its will fashioned.

"In order to comprehend the origin and progress of this influence, we must first know that that which proceeds from the Lord is the divine sphere which surrounds us, and fills the spiritual and natural world. All that proceeds from an object, and surrounds and clothes it, is called its sphere.

"As all that is spiritual knows neither time nor space, it therefore follows that the general sphere or the divine one has extended itself from the first moment of creation to the last. This divine emanation, which passed over from the spiritual to the natural, penetrates actively and rapidly through the whole created world, to the last grade of it, where it is yet to be found, and produces and maintains all that is animal, vegetable, and mineral. Man is continually surrounded by a sphere of his favourite propensities; these unite themselves to the natural sphere of his body, so that together they form one. The natural sphere surrounds every body of nature, and all the objects of the three kingdoms. Thus it allies itself to the spiritual world. This is the foundation of sympathy and antipathy, of union and separation, according to which there are amongst spirits presence and absence.

"The angel said to me that the sphere surrounded men

more lightly on the back than on the breast, where it was thicker and stronger. This sphere of influence, peculiar to man, operates also in general and in particular around him by means of the will, the understanding, and the practice.

"The sphere proceeding from God, which surrounds man and constitutes his strength, while it thereby operates on his neighbour and on the whole creation, is a sphere of peace and innocence; for the Lord is peace and innocence. Then only is man consequently able to make his influence effectual on his fellow man, when peace and innocence rule in his heart, and he himself is in union with heaven. This spiritual union is connected with the natural by a benevolent man through the touch and the laying on of hands, by which the influence of the inner man is quickened, prepared, and imparted. The body communicates with others which are about it through the body, and the spiritual influence diffuses itself chiefly through the hands, because these are the most outward or *ultimum* of man; and through him, as in the whole of nature, the first is contained in the last, as the cause in the effect. The whole soul and the whole body are contained in the hands as a medium of influence. Thus our Lord healed the sick by laying on of hands, on which account so many were healed by the touch; and thence from the remotest times the consecration of priests and of all holy things was effected by laying on of hands. According to the etymology of the word, hands denote power. Man believes that his thoughts and his will proceed from within him, whereas all this flows into him. If he considered things in their true form, he would ascribe evil to hell, and good to the Lord; he would by the Lord's grace recognise good and evil within himself, and be happy. Pride alone has denied the influence of God, and destroyed the human race."

In the work "Heaven and Hell," Swedenborg speaks of influences and reciprocities—Correspondences. "The action of correspondence is perceptible in a man's countenance. In a countenance that has not learned hypocrisy, all emotions are represented naturally according to their true form; whence the face is called the mirror of the soul. In the same way, what belongs to the understanding is represented in the speech, and what belongs to the will in the movements. Every expression in the face, in the speech, in

the movements, is called correspondence. By correspondence man communicates with heaven, and he can thus communicate with the angels if he possess the science of correspondence by means of thought. In order that communication may exist between heaven and man, the word is composed of nothing but correspondences, for everything in the word is correspondent, the whole and the parts; therefore he can learn secrets, of which he perceives nothing in the literal sense; for in the word, there is, besides the literal meaning, a spiritual meaning,—one of the world, the other of heaven." Swedenborg had his visions and communications with the angels and spirits by means of correspondence in the spiritual sense. "Angels speak from the spiritual world, according to inward thought; from wisdom, their speech flows in a tranquil stream, gently and uninterruptedly,—they speak only in vowels; the heavenly angels in A and O, the spiritual ones in E and I, for the vowels give tone to the speech, and by the tone the emotion is expressed: the interruptions, on the other hand, correspond with creations of the mind: therefore we prefer, if the subject is lofty, for instance of heaven or God, even in human speech, the vowels U and O, etc. Man, however, is united with heaven by means of the word, and forms thus the link between heaven and earth, between the divine and the natural."

"But when angels speak spiritually with me from heaven, they speak just as intelligibly as the man by my side. But if they turn away from man, he hears nothing more whatever, even if they speak close to his ear. It is also remarkable that several angels can speak to a man; they send down a spirit inclined to man, and he thus hears them united."

In another place he says—"There are also spirits called natural or corporeal spirits; these have no connection with thought, like the others, but they enter the body, possess all the senses, speak with the mouth, and act with the limbs, for they know not but that everything in that man is their own. These are the spirits by which men are possessed. They were, however, sent by the Lord to hell; whence in our days there are no more such possessed ones in existence."

Swedenborg's further doctrines and visions of Harmonies, that is to say, of heaven with man, and with all objects of nature; of the harmony and correspondence of all things

with each other; of Heaven, of Hell, and of the world of spirits; of the various states of man after death, etc.,—are very characteristic, important, and powerful. His contemplations of the enlightened inward eye refer less to every-day associations and objects of life, (although he not unfrequently predicted future occurrences,) because his mind was only directed to the highest spiritual subjects, in which indeed he had attained an uncommon degree of inward wakefulness, but is therefore not understood or known, because he described his sights so spiritually and unusually by language. His chapter on the immensity of heaven attracted me more especially, because it contains a conversation of spirits and angels about the planetary system. The planets are naturally inhabited as well as the planet Earth, but the inhabitants differ according to the various individual formation of the planets. These visions on the inhabitants of the planets agree most remarkably, and almost without exception, with the indications of a clairvoyant whom I treated magnetically. I do not think that she knew Swedenborg; to which, however, I attach little importance. The two seers perceived Mars in quite a different manner. The magnetic seer only found images of fright and horror. Swedenborg, on the other hand, describes them as the best of all spirits of the planetary system. Their gentle, tender, zephyr-like language, is more perfect, purer and richer in thought, and nearer to the language of the angels, than others. These people associate together, and judge each other by the physiognomy, which amongst them is always the expression of the thoughts. They honour the Lord as sole God, who appears sometimes on their earth.

Of the inhabitants of Venus he says,—"They are of two kinds; some are gentle and benevolent, others wild, cruel and of gigantic stature. The latter rob and plunder, and live by this means; the former have so great a degree of gentleness and kindness that they are always beloved by the good; thus they often see the Lord appear in their own form on their earth." It is remarkable that this description of Venus agrees so well with the old fable, and with the opinions and experience we have of Venus.

"The inhabitants of the Moon are small, like children of six or seven years old; at the same time they have the

strength of men like ourselves. Their voice rolls like thunder, and the sound proceeds from the belly, because the moon is in quite a different atmosphere from the other planets." (According to Gruithuisen, the moon has a very pure atmosphere, five times thinner than that of the earth; therefore the lungs must have a five times greater proportion to the body,—whence the loudness of the voice, which would really be almost like the rolling of thunder.

Swedenborg was mentally transplanted into a great multitude of other Star-Worlds, which he describes as following each other in different circles or rows, with their varied internal arrangements, forms, dwellings, and connections, in exactly the same words, expressions, and descriptions, (in a spiritual sense) as if he were describing some known part of our own earth, which certainly often requires a strong faith, and appears singular to our unaccustomed ears.

The so-called Martin Philosophers, who in the end of the last century made so much noise both in France and Germany, and whose whole doctrine is for the greater part one of magic, require here especial mention. They formed a society of philosophers, named after its master, who is the originator of a work bearing the title "On Error and Truth" (Des erreurs et de la verité, Edinburgh, 1775; or, Error and Truth, &c.: from the French of Matth. Claudius, Breslau, 1782.) In this, and another work published by the society itself, (Tableau naturel des rapports qui existent entre Dieu, l'homme et l'univers, Edinburgh, 1782) are contained the Martin doctrines; and these agree, as regards theology and natural philosophy, with the doctrines of the older Kabbalah, and with Christian theosophic mysticism. They speak of a brilliant and exalted original type of man, of his fall, in which they support themselves on various secret supplies of older and more recent secret doctrines.

Their ethics are a Christian Essaismus, which takes as a basis that the mind of man must be freed from all impurities, and enlivened by a higher light, in order to attain its original glory. Their natural philosophy is a doctrine of magic which supposes a certain insight into hermetical art, or a knowledge of natural phenomena, whilst they inculcate this as the necessary basis of all higher perceptions,

and blame those who seek only the spiritual without perception of the natural, "like persons who float over the ground that they should tread with their feet." But, because they think that visible nature must be studied in a totally different manner from what it usually is, in order to attain true light, and the real fundamental truth of everything visible, they blame even the common system of teaching in natural sciences, which is only guided by the physical appearance, is only fixed by matter, and thereby loses sight of the true spiritual enjoyment of man: by natural knowledge the mind of man must rather be prepared to guide him into the secrets of the vast connection between the visible and invisible.

They take for granted an invisible world, containing various spiritual beings who have a connection with man, which he, by piety and other virtues, can greatly increase. At the same time, notwithstanding all Swedenborgian resemblances, their belief on this head is founded, not on a mere acceptance of the Swedenborgian doctrines and visions, but rests on principles which were taught long before the time of this celebrated ghost-seer. They are still more disinclined to the secret Paracelsic alchemy, because, though not rejecting the knowledge of natural phenomena, they find no satisfaction in the dead visible matter.

JACOB BÖHME.

The poor diminutive shoemaker of Görlitz (born 1775), the despised mystic, the still unknown and misunderstood Jacob Böhme, who besides Christianity learned a little writing of his parents, will he not soon be a great man? as during his apprenticeship was prophesied to him by the strange man who appeared to him, in these words: "Jacob, thou art little, but wilt become great, and quite another man, so that the world will be astonished at thee." Certainly Böhme is often called the German philosopher, but more frequently the theosophic enthusiast, the dreamy mystic, who because he is foolish is understood by no one. To me Böhme appears the arch magician in the true sense, and

shall therefore have the last, and also the highest, place. For Jacob Böhme is truly a German, and a Christian philosopher, in whose writings might be contained the key for opening up the secrets of magic, a task which we have allotted especially to the German nation.

By a careful study of Böhme's works, and by entering into the spirit which pervades them, I feel convinced that no searcher of whatever profession has looked deeper into life and the mind of men, nor come nearer to the truth, than the truly Christian philosopher, the mystical magician, Jacob Böhme. Böhme's principle is—The beginning of all wisdom is the fear of God. "The knowledge by reason is very well in its place," says Böhme, "but is wanting in the right beginning and aim; it even falls into denying the possibility of knowing God,—nay, denying even the existence of God. The natural man of reason understands nothing of the secret of the kingdom of God, for he is out of and not in, God, as is proved by the learned reasoners who strive after God's essence and will, and know it not, because they do not hear God's word in the centre of their souls" (Sendbrief, xxxv. 5). Böhme's philosophic views are contained in voluminous writings, and in an intentionally mystic language (because he, at the beginning at least, wrote down his ideas merely for himself without any further views): they extend to everything, to God, to nature, and spirit, in which man at all times, but in vain, and with doubts and struggles, seeks his salvation. Has Böhme found this truth alone and wholly? Whoever would maintain this would say too much; for even Böhme amuses himself with beautiful many-coloured pictures, which fancy erects as parables, and which do not always imply a complete reality. Böhme acknowledges his weakness and powerlessness to understand aright the mystery of God; he is disturbed by doubts, and evidently does not always reach the goal of truth. But Böhme incontestably shows most clearly that man possesses the power of attaining a higher insight and sphere of action of the God-created economy of life. Böhme understands, in my opinion, the machinery of inner and outer life, true magic, better than any who have treated this inexhaustible subject. And yet Böhme is a completely unlearned prophet, not manufactured by the art of scholastic wisdom.

Whether Böhme knew previous or contemporary mystics is uncertain; it appears that he did not even know Tauler, but was well acquainted with his predecessor Paracelsus, whose spirit found in him a worthy echo. Böhme, however, did not confine himself to the natural philosophy of Paracelsus, but rather wove it into his sublime theosophic contemplations.

The important truths which Böhme declares, concerning God, man, and nature, he can only have drawn from his internal magical contemplations, in which he was inspired and enlightened by God. The Christian philosophising Böhme himself says: "That man is capable of a higher truly satisfactory knowledge, because he is created in the image of God, and the all-present God is constantly near him." But at the same time he emphatically remarks that man nevertheless is wanting in the divine knowledge, on account of his obstinacy and sinfulness, as also by the hindrances of the world and the devil. It is therefore necessary that man should leave in his pilgrimage his own individuality, and even all self-willed research, and should only seek the grace of God through Christ. The only true way of seeing God in his word, his essence and his will, and of recognising the signatures of the natural world, is this,—that man be at unity with himself, and abandon everything in his own will, which he has or is, and become as nothing to himself; he must become poorer than a bird in the air, which has at least its nest. Man shall have none, for he shall emigrate from the world; that is, he must give up his self-will and power" (Myster. Mag.) "Follow my counsel, abandon your own will to the spirit of God, and as you find your will in his, so will he manifest himself in your will. What you then seek, he is in it—nothing is hidden from him, and you see by his light" (Forty questions). "As soon as man through Christ attains amity with God (for without Christ he will not attain it) he gains in Christ a true, essential knowledge of God and of the world, as far as God considers such suited to each. For as soon as the growth of the new man begins, there is also a new perception. As clearly as the outward man sees the outer world, so clearly does the new man perceive the divine world in which he lives,

and is no longer led blindfold, nor is truth confined to ideas."

That Jacob Böhme himself really participated in such knowledge after having the profound feeling of the impotence of his own reason, and when in sadness at the great depth and darkness of this world, and at the strife of the elements and creatures, his whole soul appealed in great alarm to God, in order to struggle without relaxation with the love and mercy of God, is shown emphatically in the Aurora: "Then God enlightened me with his spirit, that I might understand his will, and get rid of my sorrow; then the spirit penetrated me, and now, since my spirit, after hard struggles, has broken through the gates of hell to the innermost origin of godhead, and been there received with love, it has seen everything, and recognised God in all creatures, even in plant and grass; and thus immediately with strong impulse my will was formed to describe the nature of God."

There are many editions of Böhme's writings—even extracts and so-called anthologies; but they have remained partly according to the original text in the mystic dress of the author, and are therefore too diffuse and unintelligible to most persons who have not made a deep study of them; and besides that, the extracts are partial and incomplete. We are still wanting in a systematic selection from the collected works of Jacob Böhme, of which the contents, on all matters taken from the dispersed and unequal works, should be as much as possible literally true to the original, and yet intelligible; and this is a principal reason why Böhme is so little understood, and why the world is not yet astonished at him. Dr. Julius Hamberger has undertaken to supply this want, being about to publish "The Doctrines of the German philosopher Jacob Böhme represented according to systematic extracts from his collected works, and accompanied by explanatory notices." Dr. Hamberger has been so kind as to allow me to see and make use of the already complete manuscript; and as I thus use it, literally extracting some parts which concern our subject, the reader will have a sample of this new and very carefully arranged, and highly meritorious work, to which I wish to draw especial attention. Hamberger places at every section the principal

sentence, which he then explains with Böhme's own words from his writings, and then follow his own remarks, indicated by an asterisk, thus—*.

Of the writings of Jacob Böhme, and the manner of succeeding in understanding them, Dr. Hamberger says introductorily: "The author wrote with divine inspiration from living contemplation; but it cost him hard battles, and it was not always possible to reduce what he saw into words and ideas. He afterwards acquired a more tranquil, collected style.

"I say it before God, and testify it before his judgment," are Böhme's words, "that I do not know myself what I shall write; but as I write the spirit dictates it to me in such wonderful discernment, that I frequently do not know whether I am in this world according to the spirit. And the more I seek the more I find—deeper and deeper; so that I often think my sinful person too mean for such exalted mysteries. Whereupon the spirit erects my standard, and says to me: See, therein shalt thou live for ever, why dost thou alarm thyself? (Sendbriefe, 2, 10). I might certainly write more gracefully and intelligibly, but the burning fire often urges me too hastily, so that hand and pen must follow, and it goes then like a shower of rain,—what it strikes it strikes. Were it possible to understand and describe everything, it would be much more deeply grounded; as, however, this cannot be, more than one book will be made, in order that what was not intelligible in one writing may be found in another" (Sendb. 10, 45).

"After the gates of knowledge were opened to me, I was compelled to commence working at this, like a child that goes to school. In the interior I certainly saw the truth, as it were at a great depth, but to disentangle it was impossible. From time to time it opened to me like a plant, but it was twelve years before I could bring it out."

* The author, by reason of his human sinfulness, had not always his high power of perception with equal clearness. When God's spirit left him, he did not understand his own writings.

"As the soul has its source in nature, and its good and evil in nature, and man has cast himself through sin into

the wildness of nature, so that the soul is daily and hourly soiled by sins, its perceptions can be only partial" (Aur. Vorr. 100). "As long as God holds his hand over me, I perfectly understand that which I have written, but as soon as he conceals himself I no longer know my own work, and am a stranger to the work of my own hands: whence I perceive how impossible it is to discover God's secrets without his spirit" (Sendb. 10, 29).

"Whoever will apply himself to these papers, will read and search them, must be warned not to undertake this by outward, sharp speculation and reflection. By this means he would remain on the outer, ideal ground, and would attain only an outward glimmer of it" (Clav. Vorr. 1).

* However difficult parts of these writings may be, yet by the enlightening of the divine spirit, for which one must pray earnestly to God, everything, the most inward and the most superficial of things, will become intelligible.

"True discernment no one can give to another; each must have it direct from God. Assistance may be given by one to another, but not understanding. Thus the author's writings furnish only here and there a glimmering of knowledge; but if one is acknowledged worthy by God to have the light kindled in one's soul, he will then understand the unspeakable words of God" (Sendb. 55, 8—12).

"Everyone speaks according as his life is influenced by God; and no one can bring us to knowledge but the spirit from God, who on the day of Pentecost turned all nations' languages into one in the apostles' mouth, so that the apostles' tongues understood the languages of all people, though they only spoke with one tongue, but the auditors' minds and hearts were opened by God, so that they all understood the same language, each one in his own. Thus alone through God is it possible that one spirit should understand another. Hence I fear that in many parts of my writings I am difficult to understand; but in God I am easily understood by the reader, if his soul is founded in God, from whose knowledge alone I write" (Sendb. 4, 20, 21).

OF MAGIC, OR OF THE SPIRIT AND ESSENCE OF THINGS IN THEIR FORMATION.

In the formation of creatures, their own spirit is assisting.

"The spirit is originally a magic source of fire, and yearns for being; that is, for form. This then creates desire, which is the spirit's corporealness, by which the spirit is called a creature" (Sendb. 47, 5).

* Everything real is also active in its own way. Now the idea, in as far as it only exists in the divine understanding, has not yet in itself any reality; when, however, God brings it over from this state of complete unreality, by creation to actual, corporeal, or essential reality, there results, by means of the separation of the powers contained in it, a kind of medium between the mere spiritual and unreal, and between the corporeal or completely real being, which our author calls the Life essence, and introduces above, not under this name indeed, but describes very clearly and definitely according to its nature. By means of this essence creatures are certainly active in their own corporeal formation, as we find is the case still with the development of every natural product, and as we perceive in the creation of every true work of art.

Between the mere idea of the true work of art, and its corporeal formation, lies the stirring, active spirit of it, which shall attract itself as its body. Many a one is capable of the idea of a work of art, but the true realisation-requiring image will not become fully alive in him, or remain alive in him, and thus it falls short of a successful production. Hence it appears that the essence is to be distinguished from the mere idea. But it could never attain to essence without magic, by which we must acknowledge, even in a material point of view, the transition from the mere possibility to reality. The relation of the idea to the essence is the same as mere nature, or what the author calls Mysterium magnum, to magic; but over both stands, and over both presides, the magician, that is, the free-acting will.

OF GOD AND HIS MANIFESTATION: ADAM'S ORIGINAL STATE.

God has from all eternity manifested himself in being, and the cause of this manifestation lies first of all in the will of the Trinity and in the yearnings of the eternal wisdom.

"If, then, a mystery has existed from eternity, its manifestation must now be considered by us. Of eternity we can only speak as of a spirit, for it has been all mere spirit. But it has also elected itself from all eternity in the essence" (Menschwerd, 1, 2, 1).

"Whatever is calm and without essence in itself, has no obscurity in it, but is a still, clear light, joy or essence. That, then, is eternity without anything, and is called God before all else. As, however, God will not exist without essence, he includes in himself a will, and that will is desire" (Dreif. Leben. ii. 75—77).

"The whole divine essence is in constant and eternal birth, like the mind of man, but immutable. As in the human mind thoughts are always being born, and out of thoughts, will and desire, and out of the will and desire the word, in which the hands assist that it may increase in substance, so is the case with the eternal birth" (Drei Princ. ix. 32).

"The will is first thin as a nonentity; therefore it desires, and will become something, that it may be manifest in itself. Mere nothingness causes the will to have desires, and desire is an imagination. For when the will sees itself in the mirror of wisdom, it imagines out of groundlessness into itself, and makes itself in imagination a foundation for itself" (Menschw. xi. 2, 1.)

"The virgin of wisdom, God's companion in his honour and joy, becomes full of yearning after God's wonders, which lie in herself. But by means of this longing are produced in her the eternal essences; these attract the holy power, and thus it becomes with her a fixed being. Yet in this she takes nothing for herself; her appropriativeness only exists

in the holy spirit; she moves only before God, to reveal God's wonders" (Drei Princ. xiv. 87, 88.)

* Although a question here arises of a yearning of eternal wisdom, it is not therefore indicated as personal. In all outward nature there is also a yearning, as all phenomena in it show reciprocal attraction. Such yearning suits her, because in her innermost essence she is lively, spiritual. Thus we must consider the eternal wisdom as a spirit, but not a person.

Whereas Adam formerly belonged to the divine world and to eternity, he sank now, because the image of God began to fade in him, into terrestrial life, and thus into powerlessness and sleep.

"It is easily to be understood by a sensible man, that there could be no sleep in Adam, as long as he existed in God's image; for he was then such an image as we shall be in the resurrection. Then we shall not require the elements, neither the sun nor the stars, nor even sleep, but our eyes will remain open to contemplate eternally the glory of God" (Drei Princ. xii. 17).

"The image of God does not sleep; that which is eternal knows no time. But by sleep was time revealed to man; he slept away the angelic world, and awoke in the outer world" (Myst. xix. 14).

"When Adam was overcome, the essence wherein the beautiful virgin had dwelt became earthly, weary, powerless, and weak. The powerful mother of the essence, from which she drew her power without any sleep or rest, disappeared in Adam" (Drei Princ. iii. 8).

"Thus Adam fell to magic, and his glory was gone, for sleep signifies death and a victory. The kingdom of the earth had conquered him, and wanted to govern him" (Menschw. i. 5, 8).

"When the desire of the spirit of this world had conquered, he sank again into sleep. Then his heavenly body became flesh and blood, and his great strength stiff bones. Then the virgin entered the life of shadows, into heavenly Ether, into the principle of strength" (Drei Princ. xiii. 2.)

* For the better explanation of our author's doctrine of Adam's sleep, we must compare the following clauses on ter-

restrial sleep in general. "The living creatures," says Böhme, (Drei Princ., xii. 22, 23) "such as men, animals, and birds, have the essence in themselves, for they are an extract of the quality of the stars and elements, and this essence is always kindled by the sun and the stars, whereupon the essence kindles the body. Thus, when the sun sets, and his splendour is no longer visible, the essence becomes weak, as it needs kindling by the sun's power; and because the essence becomes feeble, the strength in the blood, which is itself the essence, becomes impotent, and sinks into soft repose, dead and overcome." What is here said of the kindling of the essence,—that is, of the awakening of the power of life by the action of the sun—applies in a manner also to Adam. The divine spirit-life could only exist in him by the power of the divine sun of grace, and must necessarily disappear on his voluntary desertion of it.

As this powerlessness should serve for Adam's salvation, there was given him, in order to preserve him from sinking further still, in place of the retreated heavenly virgin, the terrestrial woman.

"As Adam went from God into personality, God allowed him to fall into impotence: else with his personality, he had become in the fire-night even a devil" (Stief. ii. 363). "When the devil saw that desire was in Adam, he acted still more on the nitre in Adam and knit his frame together more firmly. It was then time that the Creator should make him a wife, who afterwards certainly originated sin, and ate of the false fruit. But if Adam had eaten of the fruit before the woman was made of him, it would have been worse still" (Aur. xvii. 21, 22.)

The woman was taken from all the strength of Adam, but, according to the essence, formed from a rib which then had not been degraded to a stiff bone.

"Eve was not extracted (from Adam) as a mere spirit, but was complete in being. We must say, that Adam's side was opened, and the woman, Adam's spirit, appeared of flesh and bone" (Drei Princ. xiii. 14). "Reason says—If Eve be formed only out of a rib of Adam, she must be much smaller than Adam. It is not so, however, for the Fiat, as sharp attraction,

(or as the first form of nature) extracted from all essences and qualities, and from every power of Adam, and only no more members in the essence" (Drei Princ. xiii. 18). "Adam's body had not yet become hard bone. That only took place when Eve ate the apple, and gave Adam of it. Decay and temporal death already existed in it as distemper and mortal sickness, but the bones and ribs were still power and strength, and Eve was formed from the power and strength, from which, later, the stiff rib should first exist" (Ebend. xiii. 13).

* Böhme says here with reference to the body of Adam, that before the fall it was still free from earthly stiffness, because then death had no power over it. He thus removes beforehand the so often repeated rationalist assertion, that the creation of the woman out of a rib of Adam must be looked upon as a pure impossibility.

Eve was not miscreated, but lived still with Adam in Paradise; the pure divine likeness was no longer, however, to be found in either.

"Eve was not miscreated, but quite lovely; but the signs of destruction were already about her, and she could be no more than the wife of Adam. But both were still in Paradise; and had they not eaten of the tree, but turned their imaginations to God, they had remained in Paradise" (Drei Princ. xiii. 36).

"Adam and Eve had the torment of Paradise, but mixed with temporal disease. They were naked and were possessed of bodily organization, but they knew them not, and were not ashamed, for the spirit of the great world had yet no dominion over them till they ate of the earthly fruit" (Mensch. i. 6, 15).

"No one can say that Eve before the contact with Adam was a pure, chaste virgin; for as soon as Adam awoke from sleep he saw her standing by him, and soon imagined in her, and took her to him and said, 'This is flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone; she shall be called woman, because she is taken from the man. And in the same way also Eve imagined soon in her Adam, and one looked with love on the other." (Vierz. Frag. xxxvi. 6, 7.)

* We must no doubt distinguish, in Paradise, as in Heaven itself, higher and lower regions; so that although

Adam and Eve may have been in Paradise, they could only have had an inferior region of it for their dwelling.

OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

Before the sun and stars were kindled, nature was still as if in the power of death, wanting the formations of the living, increasing strength which proceeded from herself.

"Until the third day of the kindling of the anger of God in this world, nature was in anxiety, and an obscure valley, and in death; but on the third day, when the light of the stars was kindled in the waters of life, life broke through death, and commenced the new birth (Aur. xxiv. 41).

"In the earth above all, is the harsh quality; this contracts the saline particles, and fixes the Earth so that she is a corporeal being, and forms also in her all bodies, such as stones, ores, and all roots. Now when this is formed, it has still no life to enable it to grow and spread itself out. But when the heat of the sun acts on the globe, all kinds of forms flourish and grow in the earth" (Aur. viii. 41, 42).

* Böhme, it is true, declares the Aurora to be the least perfect among his works; notwithstanding which it is remarkable that here, in contradiction to the Bible, he assumes that the firmament was created as early as the third day. This assumption does not agree even with his own doctrine of the seven forms of nature, which reoccurs, according to his express declaration, in the history of creation, inasmuch as with the appearance of the firmament the real entrance of the light of God into natural life obtains; in the same way as even with divine life, wisdom only becomes visible in the fourth form of nature. Böhme has been misled here, as appears by his explanations, (Aur. xxiv. 42), by the erroneously accepted analogy of the resurrection of the Saviour, which certainly did take place on the third day.

But now God's eternal light has penetrated the darkness of this world, and kindled heat in the firmament, or in heaven; and thus from fire proceeded light, namely, the sun and the starry sky (firmament).

Herewith, however, the divine wisdom is not manifest in

a completely pure, and therefore not changeless manner, but always as in a clear mirror, and hence the devil is sent back into his darkness.

"On the fourth day God of his infinite wisdom created in the visible world the sun and the stars. Here for the first time we can only appreciate the divinity and the external wisdom of God as in a clear mirror. But the being visible to the eye is not God himself, but only a goddess in the third principle, who at last returns to her ether and has an end" (Drei Princ. 8, 13).

"God made a firmament which is called heaven, between the outer and inner birth—between the clear godhead and depraved nature, which one must break through to reach God. It is said of this firmament (Job, xv. 15) that even the heavens are not clean before God; but on the last day shall wrath be swept from them" (Aur. 20, 41, 46).

"At the creation another light was kindled for this (by Lucifer destroyed) world—namely, the sun; and thus the glory of the devil withdrawn from him. He was then shut up in darkness as a prisoner between the kingdom of God and this world, so that he has no longer to command in this world except by the Turba (*i. e.* where a confusion of powers takes place), or where the fury and wrath of God is awakened" (Mensch. 1, 2, 8).

* The removal of Lucifer, which is here in question, must necessarily be treated dynamically; the more prominent the power of light and order was, the more insignificant became the Turba—the confusion of powers—the more must the power of him be confined, who, in fact, can only develope himself in Turba.

The sun came by the soul of the world from all stars; but it also developes anew the life of all stars.

"In the soul of the outer world (and by the same), God has created and chosen a king, or, as I might express it figuratively, a god of nature with six counsellors, as his helps—namely, the sun with the other six planets, which are declared out of the seven qualities from the *loco* of the sun. This sun takes its brilliancy from the essence of the world of fire and light, and stands like an open point, opposite to the fire-world" (Myst. 13, 16, 17).

"In the centre of death, *i. e.* in the body or bodily being

of the earth, has God excited the essence, its glory, brilliancy and light, in which consists its life; but to the depth over the centre he has given the sun, which is an essence of fire, and whose power extends beyond (and over) nature, from which he receives his brightness. The life of the whole wheel of stars is the same, and all stars are his children; not in the sense that they have his essence, but that their life in the beginning has originated in his centre" (Dreif. Leben, 4, 27).

"The sun is the heart of all the powers of this world, and is conglomerated from all the powers of the stars, and in return kindles and enlivens all stars and all powers of this world" (Ebend. 7, 40).

"It is not to be understood when the sun is called the centre of the stars, that all the stars originated in the spot *Solis*. But he is (the sun) the centre of the powers of the stars, and the cause of their movement in the essence. He opens his powers and imparts power to them as their heart" (Myst. 11, 32).

* As the divine wisdom only exists through the Trinity, and *vice versâ*, the Trinity only through divine wisdom, so in the same manner is the existence of the stars dependent on that of the sun, and that of the sun on the stars, but in such manner that as the Trinity is in relation to wisdom, so is the sun in relation to the stars as the higher and more masculine power. A similar relation obtains with regard to the sun itself and on the world-soul, through which, as our author says, "the sun is awakened and born," but which in another place he describes as "an outflow of the strength of the sun and the stars." In a certain way, the soul of the world is of course dependent on the sun, but she is worthy of a higher dignity than the sun, as our author immediately subjects her to the divine ideal world. "God," he says (Sign. 8, 3), "has placed a single master, as his officer, over all things—namely, the soul of the great world. But over this he has put an image of his equal (evidently the ideal world), who models before the officer what he has to do. That is the understanding; God's own power, by which he governs the officer." Without such a world-soul, which Böhme also calls the sidereal spirit, or the star spirit, or the *spiritus mundi*, the single objects of

nature would not form a true whole, nor would so many phenomena and relations in the world, as, for instance, the regular motion of the stars, the right proportion between the origin and the decay of various objects in the world, be intelligible. But the difference between this world-soul and the ideal world is evident; the latter has its life and being in God himself, and is uncreated; but the world-soul, on the other hand, is of creative nature, and differing from God. In the ideal world lie the directions for the mode of action of the world-soul: thus the former appears commanding, the latter obeying, etc.

In conjunction with the seven forms of nature, and corresponding with them, issued especially the seven planets through the sun.

"In the same way that the sun is the heart of life, and a source of all spirits in the body of this world, is Saturn the commencement of all corporealness and comprehensibleness. Thus he does not derive his beginning and his origin from the sun, but his source is the earnest, harsh, and severe anxiety of the whole body of this world" (Aur. 26, 1—3).

"When the light was kindled, there resulted from the conquered power and harshness,—Mercury (Dei Princ. 8, 24). Mercury is an agitator, a sounder, a musician, but has not yet the right life, whose primitive condition is in fire. Thus he desires the terrific and stormy being which opens up fire; and this is Mars" (Dreif. Leben, 9, 78).

"When the sun was kindled, the terrible fire-fright arose out of the *loco* of the sun, like a cruel, violent lightning; and from that proceeded Mars. He now stands as a fury, a blusterer, and a mover of the whole body of this world, so that from him all life takes its source" (Aur. 25, 72, 75, 79).

"But as soon as the spirits of motion and of life had arisen from the *loco* of the sun by the kindling of the water, gentleness penetrated as the ground of the water, infected under itself with the power of light, in the manner of humility, and from this resulted the planet Venus" (Ebend. 26, 19, 32, 33).

"When the fire-impetus was imprisoned by light, the latter penetrated, in its own power, as a gentle heaving life,

still further into the depth, till it reached the hard, cold seat of nature. There it remained stationary; and out of the same power proceeded the planet Jupiter" (Ebend. 25, 76, 80—82).

"The seventh form is Luna, in which lay the qualities of all these seven forms. She is also the bodily essence of the other forms, who all, through *Solem*, cast their desires into her. What Sol is and does in himself spiritually, that is and does Luna in herself bodily" (Sign. 9, 24).

* From the quotations here furnished on the origin of the planets, it is seen that Saturn answers to the first, Mercury to the second, Mars to the third, Venus to the fifth, and Jupiter to the sixth, natural body. The author brings them forward thus emphatically in the work, "Tables of the Three Principles." Table 2. Here we find how the moon is given as the seventh, and sun as the fourth corresponding form. It will readily be admitted, however, that Böhme could only be satisfied with such a construction, because in his time the other planets (only become known in our days) were not discovered. Another construction based on these new discoveries, or rather only an attempt at such, is given in "God and his Revelation," S. 170 and 182 ff.

After the firmament existed, the sidereal life was called forth by it; *i. e.* there arose by it living beings like stars of the different elements.

"The firmament of heaven is made out of the middle of the water: this birth penetrates through the outward torpid birth, through death, and bears here sidereal life; such as animals, and men, birds, fishes, and reptiles" (Aur. 20, 60, 61).

"When God had opened its stars and the four elements, there were creatures in all the four elements; as birds in the constellation of the air, fishes in the constellation of the water, animals and four-footed creatures on the constellation of the earth, spirits in the constellation of fire" (Myst. 14, 1, 2).

We have seen above, that our author maintains that the earth has "the same qualities as the space above the earth." Hence we can understand why he could speak, not only of the constellation of heaven, but even of living creatures, "as of the constellations of the elements." But that such

should only appear on the fifth day, *i. e.* after the creation of the firmament, whereas by the action of the still unendowed firmament even plants could flourish, is natural. In animals are revealed the first signs of a spiritual life, or at least a decided presentiment of it; but the spiritual life can everywhere appear only with and by the completion of physical existence. This is the case not only with creatures, but we maintain it, as is fully proved in the second and third division, even with the life of the Eternal. It is thus easy to see that the active strength characteristic of the stars, or their spiritual life, could only be revealed, after they had issued from the chaos of the firmament, in which they had been previously swallowed up, and had gained their appropriated corporealness. In the "spirits in the constellation of fire," which besides the other living beings have come into existence under the action of the star-world, we are not to understand angels or devils; as Böhme himself says (Myst. 8 12): "As in the divine revelation one step follows the other down to the uttermost, so it is with the angels or spirits; all are not holy which dwell in the elements." We read further (v. 8, ff), "whilst spirits live in the power of the holy world, others in the outer world govern the powers of the stars and the four elements, like kingdoms and princedoms, as every country has its princely guardian angel, with its legions," etc. Paracelsus maintained a similar doctrine; and the Holy Scriptures seem to indicate the same thing (Compare Joh. 5, 4.)

These creatures received their spirit from the constellations, or rather from the spirit of this world, but their body from the earth. In this manner was produced, according to the preponderance of the fiery or watery form, the contrast of the two sexes.

"From the matrix of nature, God, by means of the fiat of his word, allowed all things to issue on the fifth day according to their properties,—fishes in the water, birds in the air, and the other animals on the earth. They received their physical being from the firmness of the earth, but their spirit from the *spiritus mundi*" (Gnadenw. 5, 20).

"All creatures are formed out of the lower and out of the upper life. Earth's matrix gave the body, and the constellation the spirit" (Dreif. Leben, 11, 7). "As the star-

spirit, or the spirit in the power of fire, was mingled by its yearnings with the watery spirit, there proceeded from one and the same essence two sexes, one (the masculine) in a fiery, the other (the feminine) in a watery form" (Drei. Princ. 8, 43).

THE SUN AS CENTRE OF NATURAL LIFE.

God effects this beneficent ministry especially through the sun, which, as a true image of the divine heart of love, governs the whole visible world, and restrains the fury of the dark world.

"The godhead, the divine light, is the centre of all life, and thus in the revelation of God the sun is the centre of all life" (Signat. 4, 17). "God the Father creates love from his heart; and thus the sun also indicates his heart. It is the outer world, the figure of the eternal heart of God, which gives strength to all existence and life" (Sign. 4, 39).

"God gave light to the outer world by the breath of his power, through the beams of his light, and governs with sun and moon in this world's being. All stars take their light and their splendour from the outpoured brilliancy of his light; and God adorns the earth by this light with beautiful plants and flowers, and thus gives joy with it to everything that lives and grows" (Gebot, 47).

"This world has a special god of nature, namely, the sun. But he takes his existence from the fire of God, and this again from the light of God. Thus the sun gives the power to the elements, and these to the creatures and productions of the earth" (Sechs theos. Punkte, 4, 13).

"The abyss of hell is in this world; the sun is the only cause of water; and thus the space above the earth appears lovely, pleasing, soft, and delightful" (Dreif. Leben, 6, 6, 3, 64). Everything powerful of the holy world's essence lies concealed in the wrath and the curse of God, in the properties of the world of darkness; but it becomes green by the power of the sun, and by the light of outer nature, by the curse and wrath" (Myst. 21, 8).

* Besides the great dignity and importance which Böhme assigns to the sun, he also decidedly adopts the doctrine that he does not run round the world. "The sun," he says (Aur. 25, 60), "has his own royal locus, and does not stir from the spot where he was created, although some are of opinion that he runs night and day round the globe."

As the sun governs the whole terrestrial world, he must, according to his essence and power, be present everywhere in it.

"The sun is not far from the water, for water has the sun's properties and essence; else water would not give the reflection of the sun. Although the sun is a body, it is also in the water, but not visibly. Nay, we see that the whole world would be mere sun, and locus of the sun, if God would kindle and reveal it, for all being in this world receives the rays of the sun" (Sechs theos. Punkte, 6, 10).

"If God were to kindle light by heat, the whole world would be mere sun; for the power in which the sun stands is everywhere, and before the time of the sun it was everywhere in the locus of this world as light as the sun is, not, however, as insupportable, but in a mild and gentle way" (Aur. 25, 63, 64).

* Formerly, our author maintains, "the whole world was as light as now only is the sun." Before her destruction, he means, there existed not that separation, that keeping-apart in the world, which by the penetration of the power of death must make itself visible in her. There existed already, then, all the details that we now remark in her; but the power of the full, unchecked life of every single being was participated in by all, so that all enjoyed such a fulness of life, and all lived in each other, none out of the other, only the higher included the lower, whilst the latter existed in the former. This manner of its being exists no more; but the separation could not in any way be an absolute one; and thus they are still powerfully united, and the strength of all is still contained in each individual. In this avowedly incomplete union and classification, as it exists in the lower world, we become aware of a real excitation of the one merely powerful force, through the other actual one, as, for instance, the sun in the water by the sun in the firmament. But once, at the end of time, will the splendour

of the sun, reinstated in its true essence, penetrate everything, and all the world become as light and clear as it was formerly. The separation in which the spirits of nature now stand shall be done away with, and the earth be taken up again into the ruling sun, from which, in consequence of the general destruction, she was repelled. "The earth," says our author (Myst. 10, 60, 62), "is in its place in the centre of the sun, but now no longer. Her king has fallen, and a curse now rests on her. But God has not rejected for ever the holy being, but merely the wickedness which was mixed up in it. So when once the crystal earth shall appear, what we have said will be fulfilled,—that her place is in the centre of the sun."

Even the firmaments are governed by the sun, and receive powers from him, which they then communicate to terrestrial things.

"The sun is the centre of the constellations, and the earth the centre of the elements. These two are opposite each other, like spirit and body, or like man and wife, in which it perfects its being, that is the moon, which is the wife of all the stars, but especially of the sun" (Myst. 11, 31). "As the stars, full of desire, attract the sun's power unto them, so also the sun penetrates powerfully into the stars, and thus they have their brightness from the power of the sun. But then the stars cast their kindled power, like a fruit, into the elements" (Gnadenw. 2, 26).

* When Böhme fixes the earth as the centre of the elements, we are not of course to understand the outward earth, which is only to be looked upon as a product of the elements, but her inner essence, from which the elements, as well as the exterior earth herself, proceed, as may be found more exactly explained in "God and his Revelations," p. 186, ff.

OF THE POWERS OF THE CONSTELLATIONS.

Since the stars have their origin simultaneously in the world of light and in the world of darkness, not only good comes from them, but also that evil which is found in the terrestrial world.

"Good and evil are revealed in the constellations; for the wrathful, fiery power of eternal nature, as well as the power of the holy spiritual world, is revealed in them as an exhaled essence. Thus there are many dark stars, which we do not see, as well as many light ones which we see" (Myst. 10, 36).

"The evil like the good in all things comes entirely from the stars; as the creatures on earth are in their properties, so also are the stars" (Aur. 2, 2).

"Everything that lives and floats is awakened and brought to life by the stars; for these are not only fire and water, but they are hard and soft, sour and sweet, bitter and dark, —they possess, in fact, all powers of nature, and everything that is in the earth" (Dreif. Leben, 7, 48).

"The constellation is the cause of all wit; also of all order and government in the world; it is that which awakens to growth all plants and metals and trees. For everything lies in the earth which the constellation possesses; and the constellation kindles the earth, and all is one spirit together" (Ebend. 7, 48).

* As the spirit of this world in general acts on the earth as on mankind through the constellations, we need not be astonished at the great importance our author attaches to them, as he derives from them all outward art, all temporal order, etc.

"In comparison with the earth and the elements, the constellations stand as the higher, living, and at the same time masculine power."

"The stars are a *quinta essentia*, a fifth form of the elements and of their life (extending beyond the four elements") (Dreif. Leben, 7, 45).

"The starry heaven rules in all creatures, as in its own dominions; it is as the man, and the matrix or watery form is as the wife, who bears what the heaven makes" (Drei Princ. 7, 33).

"The upper desires the lower, and the lower the upper. The hunger of the upper is great to the world, and the world hungers for the upper. Thus both are towards each other as body and soul, or as man and wife" (Gnadenw. 5, 15).

OF THE LIFE OF THE EARTH AND OF THE FOUR ELEMENTS.

It must, however, be said of the earth that she has a life. That is proved by her productions, as well as by her longing after the sun, by means of which she is constantly turned.

"If thou beholdest the earth and the stones, thou must say that there is life in them, else neither gold nor silver would grow in them, neither herb nor grass" (Aur. 19, 57).

"Every being longs after the other,—the upper after the lower, and the lower after the upper; for they are separated from each other. Thus the earth is full of hunger after the constellation, and after the *spiritus mundi*, so that she has no rest" (Clav. 110).

"The earth turns herself round, for she has in her both fires, the hot and the cold fire, and the lowest in her will always come up towards the sun, because from him alone she receives spirit and strength. On that account she turns; the fire (*i. e.* the desire after light) turns her, for it wishes to be kindled and to have a life of its own. But as it must nevertheless remain in death, it has always the longing after the higher life, and attracts it, and opens its centre constantly for the sun's essence and fire" (Dreif. Leben. 11, 5).

* The spiritual contemplation of nature which prevails here forms a strong contrast to the more usual notion that the movement of the earth, of the planets, etc., is nothing more than a mechanical trick. But one might even here be too easily tempted to attribute an enthusiastic imagination to our author, to ward off which we refer to Aur. zu, § 19 and § 113. Moreover Böhme declares the constant turning of the stars and the earth to be only a consequence of the general destruction of nature through Lucifer's crime. "The army of Lucifer," he says, in Aur. 15, 17, 53, "kindled the nitre of the stars and the earth, and half killed and destroyed it, so that they are forced by this conflagration of

wrath to whirl round in all celerity till the day of judgment."

The four elements are in reality only properties of the true fifth element which remains concealed behind the outer elements.

"What we now call four elements are not elements, but only properties of the true element" (Myst. 104).

"The real element stands concealed behind the outer burning elements" (Drei. Princ. 14, 54).

"The *quinta essentia* is paradisical life in the heavenly world, and shut up in the outer world (*i. e.* not fixed or retained by her, only not visible)" (Clavis specialis).

"Fire, air, water, and earth proceeded out of the centre of nature, and before the conflagration existed, in one being. But since the conflagration they show themselves in four forms, which are called four elements; but they are still in each other as one, and, in truth, only one exists. There are not four elements in heaven, but one, yet all four forms lie concealed in that one" (Dreif. Leben, 5, 105).

From this celestial ground the outward, terrestrial elements proceeded; and first fire, then air, then water, and last the earth element, was here distinguished.

As the elements proceeded from an original unity, they long eagerly for each other, but are also involved at the same time in strife and adversity.

"The four elements are only properties of the one divided element; therefore is such great anguish and desire among them. Internally, they have only one single basis; therefore one must long after the other, and seek that inner basis in the other" (Clav. 106).

"After the element which has only one will produced four elements, which now govern in one body, adversity and strife commenced among them. Heat is now opposed to cold, fire to water, air to earth; each is the death and destruction of the other" (Sign. 15, 4).

* Böhme does not intend to maintain, either here or elsewhere, that the quadrupleness of the elements is abolished in the heavenly region. Of a certainty, even the lower forms of nature must exist in the eternal, and especially so; that the higher ones may reveal themselves in full glory

therefore the different elements exist equally even in heavenly nature, but not in their division, neither in mutual restraint, but rather in harmony, and adapted to their reciprocal glorification. "As long," says our author, emphatically (Gnadenwahl, 6, 4), "as these four—fire, light, air, and water—separate from each other, the Eternal is not there; but when they endure the companionship of each other, and do not fly asunder, then the Eternal is present."

In the products of the earth, as, for instance, in so many minerals, the true essence appears enclosed in death, but from others, especially the valuable metals and precious stones, it shines out upon us in some degree.

"It appears strange to the understanding, when it considers the earth with its hard stones and its rough, harsh existence, and sees how great rocks and stones are formed, of which a part are of no use, or are only a hindrance to the creatures of the world" (Myst. x. 1).

"The terrestrial torment destroyed the heavenly, and became a Turba to the latter, as the Fiat made earth and stones out of the eternal essence" (Menschw. i. 9, 8).

"But we find in the earth another essence, which has community with the heavenly, especially in the precious metals" (Sechs theos. Punkte, vi. 6, 2.)

"Gold approaches to the divine essence or celestial corporealness, as we should perceive if we could dissolve its dead body and make it a living spirit, which is only possible by the movement of God" (Sign. iii. 39).

"As regards the precious stones, such as carbuncles, rubies, emeralds, delphinite, onyx, and such, they have their origin where the lightning of light and love has arisen (comp. § 31). This lightning is born in gentleness, and is the very centre of the source-spirits; therefore these stones are so sweet and lovely and withal so strong" (Aur. xviii. 17).

OF THE NATURE OF MAN AFTER THE FALL.

As God himself from eternity bears the focus of light in himself, so there exists in the soul the desire of penetrating into the second principle, and of living on the light of God.

"The soul is in its substance a magic source of fire and of the nature of God the father,—a great desire after light."

"But if the soul, as was the case with Adam, does not abandon its will to God, the divine Idea in it, although not destroyed, is rendered inactive.

"One must not think that man's heavenly being is become a nonentity. It has remained to him, but was as a nonentity in his life. It was concealed in God, and was incomprehensible to man without life" (Myst. xx. 28).

"The soul's essence out of the unfathomable will is not dead; she will destroy nothing, but remains eternally a free will. But she has lost the holy essence in which God's light and fire of love burned; neither is she become a nonentity, although to the creature soul both a nonentity and insensitive; but the holy power, *i. e.*, the spirit of God, in which was the active life, concealed itself" (Gnadenw. vii. 11).

* God has not left the soul, but the soul God, as Böhme emphatically says. "God," he says, (Gnadenw. vii. 12) "did not withdraw himself from the soul, but the science of the free will withdrew itself from God, in the same way as the sun does not withdraw himself from the thistle, but the thistle from the sun." Only through itself, and completely without and against the divine will, has the soul lost the light of the eternal, which formerly could be active in her, and by whose light she was penetrated. The godlike essence of man is not even completely lost by the fall, but is only gone back out of the state of actual being into a state of mere potentiality, in which sense our author compares it with an extinguished taper, which evidently has the flame in it as a power, but only as such. "If the light of the divine principle," says he (Myst. xx. 27), "is extinguished, the being in which it burned and shone is as

dead and as a nonentity. It is like a taper, which so long as it burns in a dark place makes the whole room light; but if extinguished, it leaves no trace behind, and the power comes to nothing."

If the soul allow the true light and life in her to be thus extinguished, it is natural, that their wrathful and hostile power will be felt.

"As God's word or heart takes its origin in the life of majesty, in the eternal fire-essence of the Father, thus also the image of the soul. The true image of God dwells in the light of the soul-fire, and this light must derive its ardent being from God's fountains of love, from his majesty, through her imagination and inspiration! But if the soul does not do this, but imagines in herself awful forms of the fiery torment, and not of the fountain of love, and in the light of God, the results in her will be sharpness and bitterness (comp. § 71 and § 72), her own torment, and thus the image of God will be swallowed up in wrath."

Thus has man by his fall attracted God's wrath, opened to himself the kingdom of hell, and forms to himself hellish figures.

"When man had lost the pure and clear image, the soul stood only in the property of the father, *i. e.* in eternal nature, which, apart from the light of God, is wrath and a destroying fire" (Tinct. i. 285).

"By means of the fall there was, in God's anger, opened in man a gate of the dark world, namely hell, the pit of the devil; and thus was also opened in him the realm of fancy" (Gnadenw. vii. 7).

"If we are to speak of the soul's substance, and of the essences, we must say that she is the very rudest part of man, fiery, harsh, bitter, and rough. If she entirely loses the virginity of divine strength given to her, from which the light of God is born in the soul, she becomes a devil" (Drei Princ. xiii. 30).

"After man had established himself in his own inclinations, and had turned his will from God, he began to form earthly and hellish figures; such as curses, oaths, lies, and such like."

"We, poor children of Eve, must feel great pain, grief, and misery in us, when the wrath reaches us, leads and

torments us, so that we live no longer as the children of God in love amongst each other, but persecute, abuse, slander, and calumniate one another, with envy, hatred, murder, and poison, and always wish each other only evil" (Tinct. i. 4). "What wicked men in this world do in their wickedness and falseness, is done in the world of darkness by the devils" (Sechs, theos. Punkte, ix. 18).

"One man torments another, and is, therefore, the devil of the other" (Dreif. Leben, xvii. 10).

* When Böhme says that man in consequence of the fall has incurred the anger and wrath of God, and that his soul is only the Father's properties, which are a consuming fire, this must evidently not be understood of God's nature itself, but only from the reflected divine properties contained in man. In God himself, a separation of the principles is utterly incomprehensible. With such a supposition the eternity and immutability of the highest would be straightway destroyed. But as far as the said destruction takes place in man, the light of the eternal glory must of course fall in a perverted, troublesome manner on him, and thus indeed make itself felt by him as a consuming fire, and the endless love appear to him as wrath and anger.

But God has preserved him that he should not so easily become a devil, and especially by permitting him to enter into the outward terrestrial life.

"God placed the soul in flesh and blood, that she might not be so susceptible of the wrathful essence. Thus she can meanwhile enjoy the reflection of the sun, and rejoice in the sidereal essence" (Sechs theos. Punkte, vii. 19). "It was not without reason that God breathed into Adam's nostrils the outer spirit, the outer life. Adam might also like Lucifer have become a devil, but the outward mirror prevented it" (Vierz. Fragen, xvi. 11). "Many a soul would in her wickedness become a devil in an hour, if the outward life did not prevent it, so that the soul cannot quite inflame herself" (Ebend. xvi. 12).

"If we consider ourselves as a whole, we find the outer spirit very useful. Many souls would be destroyed if the animal spirit did not keep the fire a prisoner, and represent to the fire-spirit, mundane, animal work and joy, in which

she can take pleasure until he can again behold in her his noble image, and she again incline to him" (Ebend. xvi. 10).

"If the mother of this world were destroyed, as she will be in due course, the soul would have been in everlasting death, in darkness. The beautiful creature would have been taken prisoner by the kingdom of hell, and triumphed over by it" (Dreif. Leben, viii. 38).

* The danger to man of sinking down completely into a diabolic manifestation is diminished by the materialisation of his body, by which his knowledge as well as his power of action is so much decreased. By his entrance into terrestrial life and its conditions he was preserved from the most abject degeneration. The perverseness of his inclinations can appear less here. The world to which he now belongs preserves him from the contemplations of a glory which in his uncleanness he could not bear, and which if he had been exposed to would rather have incited him to a decided struggle. In this world he will not at once attain the consciousness of his inward perversity, which he was only prevented from conquering because it would then appear actually unconquerable. In the same terrestrial sphere much is permitted to him, even given him as a duty, which in itself cannot remain in harmony with the highest task of his life and being, but whereby almost imperceptibly, and under particular influence of the grace of God, there arise higher aspirations in him, which qualify him by degrees for admission into a higher order of things. (Compare "God and his Revelations," § 207, 213, and 225 ff.)

As the soul of man allowed itself to be taken captive by the spirit of this world, and to have its essence infused into her, terrestrial properties must develop themselves in her.

"The poor soul of Adam was taken prisoner by the spirit and principle of this world, and has taken the essence of this world into her" (Dreif. Leben, viii. 37).

"Into whatever the imagination of the spirit enters, such it becomes through the impress of the spiritual desire. Therefore God forbade Adam, while still in Paradise, to eat in imagination of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, else he would fall into misfortunes and death, and die to the heavenly kingdom, as indeed happened" (Taufe, i. 1, 22).

"The earthly property which was formerly swallowed up in Paradise, became revealed itself by means of the soul's desire, and thence heat and cold, and the poison of adversity, were dominant agents, so that the beautiful heaven- and Paradise-image disappeared" (Stiefel, xi. 83).

"Everything, when brought among its kindred, be it bad or good, rejoices in its properties and begins to amalgamate. Let anyone, for instance, take a little poison, this poison will eagerly ally itself to the poison which already exists in the body, strengthen itself by it, and so possess the body."

* All things, Böhme maintains in Myst. Mag. xi. 13, 14, contain a poison, namely, the power of the lower forms of nature. But in its proper state this poison is kept down, so that it must only serve life, and not be at eternity with it. Thus, for instance, the human being bears in a healthy state the power of all diseases,—nay, even the power of worms, which at last destroy his body. In the same manner was the power of the earthly life contained in the man of Paradise, but he existed not by means of the glory with which he was clothed by God. The possibility was not given him to excite the power in himself in a merely outward manner, but it might take place through the action of the human imagination, as was the case through the devil. Man abandoned himself to this influence, and thus the earthly being, by which he was only entertained, as it found conformity in him, became really active. "Sin," says Böhme, "in this sense (Vierz. frag. xv. 4) come from the imagination. The spirit enters a thing, and is infected by it. Thus the Turba of the thing enters the spirit and destroys the image of God, and finds the wrathful fire in the soul, and mixes itself with it by means of the thing introduced into the spirit."

Hence the body of the first man, which was a spiritual, divine one, became by the enjoyment of the forbidden fruit an earthly, material one.

"God had given man a body, a pure, essential power, after the fashion of the soul, and which, compared with the coarse, earthly essence, might be considered as a spiritual body" (Myst. xvi. 3, 4).

"The body of the first human pair was of divine fashion; but as soon as they ate of the earthly fruit in their bodies, the

temperature was destroyed, and the earthly body revealed in all its properties" (Gnadenw. vii. 5).

Thus man lost eternal life, and consequently fell into death.

"We cannot say of man that in the beginning he was enclosed in time; he was rather enclosed in Paradise, in eternity. God created him in his own image. But when he fell the end of time seized him" (Gnadenw. vii. 51).

"As time has a beginning and end, and the will and desire have submitted themselves to the temporal leader, the body dies and passes away" (Sign. v. 9).

"After the fall man lived only to time with his outward body; the precious gold of the divine corporealness which should tinge (permeate and bless) the outer body, had disappeared" (Ebend. v. 8).

Thus the powers of animal life have so gained footing in man, that he became to himself an animal according to his outer being.

"Man was not like the animals created of good and evil (*i. e.* of the mere earthly essence). Had he only not eaten of bad and good, the fire of wrath had not been in him; but now he is possessed of an animal body" (Aur. xviii. 109).

"Before sin, the divine image had penetrated and clothed the outer man with divine strength, and the animal was not revealed. But when the image separated from the divine essence, the poor soul, divested of the first principle, surrounded with the animal, stood out quite naked and uncovered" (Myst. xxi. 15).

"When Adam and Eve had eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, they were immediately ashamed that in their tender body so great an animal had been called forth, with its common flesh, hard bones, and animal propensities. The animal essence had swallowed up the divine in them; that essence, which they before did not know as existing in themselves, was now dominant in them" (Ebend. xxiii. 1).

Even the senses of man became earthly and brutish, so that he could no longer perceive God and divine things.

"When man issued from Paradise into a second, inferior birth, into the spirit of this world, into the suns, stars, and elements-quality the paradisical vision was extinguished in him" (Drei Princ. xiv. 2).

"After the fall man became an animal-being, so that Heaven and Paradise and the Godhead became a mystery to him" (Menschw. i. 2, 14).

"The serpent said to Eve, 'Thou shalt not die, but thy eyes shall be opened, and thou wilt be like God.' Her earthly eyes were opened, but the heavenly ones closed" (Stief. i. 44).

* Geographical considerations are not the cause of our no longer seeing the paradisical and divine world; the cause is that like can only be perceived by like, or similar by similar: thus the divine must now remain invisible to us, because we have lost the divine sense. "If man's eyes were only opened," says Böhme, (Aur. ix. 48), "he would perceive everywhere God in his heaven, for heaven is in the innermost birth. Hence when Stephen saw heaven open and the Lord Jesus on the right hand of God, it was not necessary that his spirit should have soared into the upper heaven, but that it should be permeated by the inner birth, and then heaven is on all sides."

* No less was the human will and mind struck by the spirit of this world, and thus held fast by one or other element, as the power of temperament shows.

If sin had not entered, man, who as the image of God possessed creative power in himself, would have been able, without the present union of sexes, to have produced his equals out of himself.

"All men are only the one man Adam. God created only him, and left procreation to man, in order that he should abandon his will entirely to God, and with God bear other men out of himself in equality" (Myst. lxxi. 31).

"Adam was a full image of God, man and woman, and yet neither of the two, but (like) a chaste virgin. He had the desire of fire and light, the mother of love and of wrath in him, and the fire in him loved the light as its instigation and beneficence, and in the same way light loved fire as its life, as God the Father loves the Son, and the Son the Father in such nature" (Stief. xi. 351, 352).

Adam was man and woman, but not in the sense of an exact woman, but a pure, chaste virgin. That is, he had the essence of fire and the essence-spirit of water

in him, and loved himself and God. He could only be so originally by his will, and out of his being, without pain and without sorrow" (Dreif. Leben, xi. 24).

"Had man withstood the trial, his descendants would have been born one from another in the same way that Adam originally was,—man, and the image of God. For that which proceeds from the Eternal, has an eternal manner of birth" (Ebend. xviii. 7).

RESUMÉ.

THE phenomena which are included under the name Animal Magnetism, present so many points of interest, that they have of late years attracted universal attention. Not only are learned men engaged in endeavouring to understand all that is problematical in them, according to their comprehensiveness and worth, and to find the proper point of view from which they are to be regarded, but even the popular mind is attracted towards them, in the expectation of deriving either amusement or instruction from their mysteries.

Magnetism possesses properties which are not only practically useful as regards health and the relations of life, but also in respect to the highest interests of mankind.

We have, in the foregoing pages, looked at Animal Magnetism in its relations to other phenomena of life, and as connected with the sciences, and throughout its historical career; so that sound deductions may be drawn. Hence the reader who has accompanied us will have been placed at a point of view from whence he may discover that many wonderful stories can be explained and connected most naturally with well-known facts; he will have been enabled to form an unfettered judgment regarding circumstances which superstition has deified, scepticism rejected as folly, or blind belief accepted as miracles. Lastly, having compared together historical facts, it is possible that he may have discovered traces of a more extended universe than that of the senses or of worldly experience, and that in human

nature lie the germs of powers which are occasionally met with in this earthly home, but which here are never perfectly developed.

By Animal Magnetism we understand those peculiar physical and psychological phenomena which are produced in others principally for the cure of diseases, by a conscious mechanical influence. The mutual impression produced by living beings upon each other is merely a modified universal law of mutual impression, which has been designated natural magnetism; for this reason Mesmer, its discoverer, called this artificial manner of producing it, by analogous reasoning, magnetism. "By these means, we discover in Animal Magnetism a new medical science, or the art of healing and prevention of disease, not through a substance but by a power; a movement which, like sound in the air, like light in the ether, appears to be endowed with a surpassing mobility. It is called Animal Magnetism, because the animal part of man is the medium, the conducting body of this penetrating magnetism, and is more particularly active in that particular which distinguishes our animal from the vegetable organisations, namely, in the direction of our senses, and the higher faculties of man."*

Magnetism has also been called Life-magnetism, on account of its universal influence on human beings, and Mesmerism from its discoverer, which is perhaps the best designation for this new curative system founded on his theories. Kluge and others call it Animal Magnetism, in contra-distinction to universal vegetable and mineral magnetism. The word magnetism in itself says too little, and is too indefinite; universal magnetism says too much; and Tellurism is merely an individual idea adopted by Kieser.

Although Animal Magnetism only gives but an indistinct idea, yet it is not difficult to find explanations through it for many well-known phenomena. Its analogy with mineral magnetism is expressed by Mesmer in the following words (p. 18):—

"Just as the properties of the magnet may by certain

* Mesmerism; or, the System of Mutual Influence, Theory and Uses of Animal Magnetism as an Universal Healing Medium, &c.; by Dr. F. A. Mesmer; edited by Dr. Karl Christian Wolfart. Berlin, 1814, pp. 18, 19. Explanations of Mesmerism by Dr. Wolfart, p. 147.

processes be called into action in iron and steel, and be so strengthened that they are able to represent a true magnet, so have I discovered the means of strengthening the actual magnetism of any individual being to such a degree, that phenomena are produced which are analogous to those of the magnet. Just as natural heat may be raised by certain processes so far that fire is the consequence, so is natural magnetism a description of invisible fire, which, by a continued series of movements, is enabled to impart itself in an immeasurable degree to other animate or inanimate bodies; and this fire, in relation to its application as a curative agent, is that which I call Animal Magnetism, which, as will be seen, may become an immediate remedy,—may strengthen the activity of the muscular fibre, regulate the functions depending on it, and by such means infuse harmony in the internal parts and members of the human body."

A peculiar description of iron-stone is called magnet, or loadstone, and possesses the remarkable property of attracting and retaining iron and steel; an influence which, if the bodies are light and easily moved, shows itself at a considerable distance, and is not weakened even if another substance is placed between the magnet and the attracted body; that is to say, the interspersed substance not being iron, or of a ferruginous nature. A magnet will operate in this manner through paper, wood, glass, &c. Such a magnet has generally two points, called poles, which show most strongly this attraction for iron; and at the same time, if the magnet is suspended, it invariably turns towards the north and south—with a certain variation, however.

This last property of the magnet is caused by the earth's magnetic pole, and was the origin of the discovery of the compass. Between these two poles there is an opposite attraction, so that the south pole of one magnet is attracted by the north pole of another, and at the same time is repelled by the south pole of the same. It is particularly remarkable that the power of a magnet is strengthened if it is made to support an increasing series of weights. Lastly, the magnetic power may be artificially given to any iron by rubbing it with a loadstone. The magnet is also

deflected towards the centre of the earth. In a much smaller degree is the magnetic power observable in other substances; as nickel, cobalt, serpentine, porphyry.

The magnet has also been called Siderit; and according to Lucretius, (de rerum natura, lib. vi. v. 908) derived its name among the Greeks from the country of the Magnesians, or Magnesia, in Thessaly, where it is frequently met with. Pliny derives the name from a shepherd, Magnes, who was tending his sheep in Mount Ida, and is said to have discovered the stone by its fastening itself to his iron-bound staff (Historia natur. lib. xxxvi. c. 17). Others have called it Heraclion—the stone of Hercules—from its frequency near the city of Heraclea. The word is first met with in the Orphean poetry, where we find—

"The warlike Mars loves the magnet."
"μαγνῆτιν δ' ἐξοχ' ἐφίλησεν δούριος Ἄρης."

We may also discover in Homer, Pythagoras, Epicureus, and Aristotle, that they were not unacquainted with it; and according to Athanasius Kircher (Magnes, sive de arte magnetica, Coloniæ, 1643), it was known even in the earliest ages in Asia, Egypt, and Greece. He also states, that among the Hieroglyphics "magnetic pictures" are represented, particularly in the temples of Serapis and the Sun. The polarity, however, of the magnet was certainly not known in the early ages; and the compass is first mentioned in 1180 in France, in the poems of Hugues Bercy and John of Metun (Recherches de la France, par Pasquier, lib. v. c. 25). According to Zonaras and Photius (Lexica Græca), a certain Eusebius is said to have navigated by aid of the "*Batylus*," a stone belonging to the Oracles. Whether it was the native loadstone or artificial magnet is not related. Albertus Magnus is certainly of the opinion that Aristotle knew of the polarity of the magnet; but no passage with any such reference can now be discovered in his works. Others maintain, that the small iron arrow belonging to Solomon of Crete, and which showed the hours, was a magnet; and again, others believe that it was first introduced from China by Paulus Venetus in 1200. It is also said that Vasco de Gama on rounding the Cape of Good

Hope discovered some natives, who navigated by means of a needle; but more probably it was the Neapolitan Giaa, or Gioja, who was the first discoverer of the compass in the 13th century (Kircher). Later, the French, English, and Belgians all claimed the discovery (Attempted Chronological History of Magnetism, by F. W. A. Murhart, Cassel, 1797). These remarkable properties of the magnet gave rise, even in the earliest times, to many different opinions, views, and theories of celebrated men, which are to be found in Pliny, Lucretius, and, later, in Gilbert (de Magnete, &c., de magno magnete telluris physiologia nova, Londini, 1600). Plato believed the magnetic attractions to be of divine origin, and Thales says that every loadstone has a soul. But not alone were theories formed, but also experiments and discoveries made, which very soon led to the belief that an universal power of nature existed, which probably might be the general basis of matter. The first who watched the phenomena of magnetism more narrowly, made many new experiments, and founded a totally new and comprehensive theory which was connected with the universal law of nature, was Gilbert. According to him, the whole earth is a magnetic substance, as well as the sun, moon, and all other heavenly bodies. Euler also maintains, in a treatise for the Parisian Academy, that the earth is generally magnetic, and not simply provided with a central magnetic core, as Halley supposed. Descartes, Apinus, Brugman, Bernoulli, and others, touched upon this likewise in their works. Euler's theory was afterwards extended by Kepler (Harmonia mundi), and Stevin, and more particularly Paracelsus, to the whole universe, so that all operations of nature and its whole connection was declared to be magnetic (Archidoxis magica; de Ente astrorum; Tractatus de magnete, philosophia fugax). He speaks of *magnete magno*, of magnetic power, of magnetic secrets, even of a magic influence by the will upon other men.

"Magic is a great sudden wisdom, as reason is openly a great folly." He also applied magnets in many diseases.

The most faithful follower of Paracelsus, Baptista van Helmont, soon amplified his teachings, and almost spoke in the very words of Mesmer, when he admitted that magic, or an unknown power in man, needs only to

be roused to usefulness in him, as it is a natural gift. He says:—"It is foolish to believe that it is through the devil (who only thrives where ignorance abounds) that one man may by his will influence others, even at a distance. Magnetism is present everywhere, and has nothing new but the name; neither does it present any feature contrary to reason, excepting to those who scoff at everything, or ascribe all they are unable to comprehend to the power of the devil" (Van Helmont de magnetica vulnerum curatione). Also, Opera omnia, Frankfort, 1682. Similar views are to be found in Maxwell (Medicina Magnetica, libri tres, in quibus tam theoria quam praxis continetur); Burggraf (Balneum Dianæ magneticum, 1600); Robert Fludd (Philosophia mosaica, etc, 1638).

The magnet had been applied much earlier in various diseases. Pliny, Galen, Dioscorides, and Avicenna, have ascribed a power to the magnet of thinning and improving the slugglish juices of the human body, more particularly in disorders of the abdomen, and hypochondriasis. A magnet worn suspended round the neck is said to be an excellent remedy against convulsions and affections of the nerves. Ætius, Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Borel, and Meker, have recorded many very remarkable cases of cure by loadstones; for instance, Ætius, a case of gout (Tradunt, detentum magnetum manu chiragricorum dolores sedare, æque convulsis opitulatur, etc.), Paracelsus one of hemorrhage. The oldest and most singular cures by the magnet on record are contained in the following works,—Joh. Jac. Schweighardi, ars magnetica s. disquisitio de natura, viribus et prodigiosis effectibus magnetis, Herbiss. 1631.—Wepfer de secretis, Basil. 1667.—Borelli, Hist. et observ. physico-med. Cent. vi.—Acta eruditor. Lips. 1707. —Talbot, in Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. iv. —Göttinger gelehrte Anz. 1763, S. 252.—Gazette Sanitaire, 1661, No. 23.—T. Zwingeri Scrutinium magnetis physico-medic. Basil. 1697.—J. G. Pasch, Abhandlung von den Zähnen, Wien, 1776.—Ch. Weber, Die Wirkung der künstlichen Magnete in seltenen Augenkrankheiten, Hannover, 1767.—Heinsius, Beiträge zu Versuchen mit künstlichen Magneten, Leipzig, 1776.—Max. Hell, Unpartheiischer Bericht über die sonderbaren Wirkungen künst-

lichen Magnete, Wien, 1775.—Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Médec. sur les propriétés médicales de l'aimant, Paris, 1777, T. H.—E. G. Baldinger, Narratio historica de magnetis viribus ad morbos sanandos, Gotting. 1778.—Unzer, Beschreibung der mit dem künstlichen Magnet angestellten Versuche, Altona, 1778.—J. G. Reichel Respond. Christ. Ludwig dissertat. de Magnetismo in corpore humano, Lipsiæ, 1772.—Audry de Thouret, Observat. et recherches sur l'usage de l'aimant en médecine; ou, Mémoire sur le Magnét. Animal, Paris, 1782.—J. G. Bolten, Nachricht von einem mit dem künstlichen Magnet gemachten Versuch in einer Nervenkrankheit, Hamburg, 1775. Also, many later works on the preparation and application of the artificial magnet, by Weber, Deinmann, Becker, and Bulmerincq.

Although it cannot be maintained that magnetism is something new, yet undoubtedly Mesmer was the primary discoverer, as he was the first who arranged the various phenomena which were produced in sick persons by a certain course of action, in a comprehensive and complete theory; and through him it was that a new science was created: although we may on another occasion take a closer view of this theory, yet we must now become at least somewhat acquainted with the mesmeric operations, and the phenomena produced thereby in its patients.

The mesmeric influence of magnetism for curative purposes is either directed upon the whole body or upon individual portions alone. For this purpose, man is provided by nature with a remarkable and perfectly adapted conductor—the hand. If a man is suffering under any affection, the disease is always more or less confined to one certain spot, where, as it were, all the activity of the body is collected. If, then, two men mutually influence each other magnetically, the united activity of this influence is directed upon the diseased part, and the hands are particularly calculated to act upon any given spot. This locally excited place becomes now the focus of activity in different directions, and the disease becomes general instead of local; on which account the contractions and convulsions produced by magnetism are salutary, and when properly guided, often lead to health without the application of medicines.

The magnetic influence by the hands extends even to animals and plants, which thereby acquire a peculiar state, and even inorganic substances may be so influenced by magnetism, that in certain circumstances they may be used as conductors.

The act of magnetising—the magnetic process, takes place either by personal contact or by means of conductors. Personal magnetic influence operates—

1stly. Through the approximation of the operator to the patient.

2ndly. Through the hands.

3rdly. By the eyes.

4thly. By words.

Influence by conductors may take place through the whole of nature, with its substances and productions, both organic and inorganic. Water, metals, living animals and trees, even the light of the sun and moon, may be aids and conductors to this magnetic fluid.

Magnetizing by the hand is the most usual method; for the hands are the true organs of the will. They are the instruments by which the will is palpably exhibited. The hands give the direction of activity to the will; and as the body is the visible material reflection of the soul, so are the hands the physiognomic expressions of the composition and activity of the will and the character.

Magnetizing by the eyes, and gazing upon the patient, is usually very powerful, when it is done continuously, and with intention. Animals cannot support the glance of the human eye; and it is not rare for a sick person to fall asleep merely by being looked at, particularly if accustomed to magnetic treatment.

Words are the direct embodiment of the ideas of the soul, and are used to act even physically; to excite, restrain, invigorate, or lead.

Farther than this we do not proceed; the full and minute explanation of magnetism not having been the object of the foregoing work; and for further information, the reader is referred to Der Magnetismus im Verhältniss zur Natur und Religion, Stuttgart, 1842. (Magnetism in connection with Religion.)

Those phenomena designedly produced by magnetism,

which, however, arise naturally in many diseases, and may also be produced by other means and influences, are most easily classed as physical and psychological. Those which are most frequent are physical crises, and less frequently, psychological conditions. The former are not unusual in all magnetic patients. Among the psychological phenomena may be classed the waking up of the inner consciousness with extraordinary activity of the outer senses; as, for instance, that dream-like middle state between sleep and waking called somnambulism; or the more rare and still higher state of the soul, which is known as the power of the seer,—clairvoyance, ecstasy, &c.

Happily, prejudices of all kinds are giving way before the power of knowledge and enlightenment, and magnetism has now no longer to strive against the spirit of the age. The physician who will not introduce magnetism into his own individual practice, yet no longer denies its reality. It is no longer an interdicted word in the writings of the philosopher and the psychologist; whilst many a theologian has taken up the subject zealously, now he can recognize something beyond miracles or sorcery in it. As to the learned, if they are not altogether advocates of it, neither are they altogether opposed to it; besides, the time is passed when they were considered the infallible judges of all unknown mysteries and higher truths.

The advancing spirit of the age, and in an especial manner the attention which is paid to the earnest study of natural philosophy, have given a new importance to the subject of Animal Magnetism. The veil which formerly enwrapped so many mysteries and enigmas is falling off by degrees, by means of the irresistible and rapid discoveries of physics and chemistry, of organology and anthropology. This truer and more intimate knowledge of all the natural sciences has produced one of those general reforms in which the schools and the sects, narrow-souled private views, fancies, and prejudices, are dispersed as shadows of night before the ascending daylight of truth.

Magnetism is thus brought under the protection of science and general intelligence, of which it will become an active and useful agent. Magnetism is no new principle; it is an organic development of the powers inherent in

man. No fresh human characteristic is revealed by it; for all organic development of the present time has its origin in the past whence it has successfully sprung. Thus magnetism is according to its nature as old as humanity. But it is different with the doctrine regarding magnetism. This may be new, since the facts scattered throughout the course of history must be collected, must be compared with those of the present day, and a theory formed out of which a rational system of application may be obtained. It is no reason that because the history of magnetism as yet vibrates between contradictory opinions, between fact and appearance, that we should not seek out its physiological root from amidst the physical and psychological facts which everywhere abound.

As concerns the historical facts of magnetism, people are now at all events convinced that that which occurs to the individual is common to the whole race, and that those kindred phenomena have never failed in any age or nation. Magnetism is therefore an historical fact; it is nothing theoretical, but a practical reality; it is a fact of scientific importance; it is of the most momentous value to the physician, while it in no way contradicts religion.

Magnetism has alone given us the key to an historical criticism of that mysterious and mystical region of the human soul in which the hidden power plays his magical part. It has been the first to render intelligible the hieroglyphics of fanaticism, of magic, and of sorcery, and to impart to them a scientific intelligence. Thus magnetism becomes a valuable expositor of philosophy and history, directing attention towards the forbidden questions of human nature, and rendering their perception more acute, while it enriches them with facts and ideas which they would not otherwise have possessed.

The history of magnetism is divided into two portions,—that of the ancient magic, and that of modern magnetism. Christianity was a very important crisis in the existence of magic,—in fact, the most important; for the advent of Christ is in an historical point of view the central era when the old time comes to an end and the new commences; when the night-like shadowiness of mysteries is dissolved into the daylight of self-consciousness and the purpose and

intention of life. As the biblical history of the Old Testament is the seed and the type of all later history, so in the New Testament, for the first time, like the flower unfolding from the bud, is developed a perfect revelation of the truth. The Judaism of the Old Testament has a real perception of the true tree of life of the inner, progressive development by means of cultivation; all other heathen nations, with their various systems of religion, are the lopped branches of the great tree of life, which has vegetated, it is true, but which are incapable of inner growth. Judaism is that real mystery which appears in Christianity as the ideal of holiness and union with God. But as the fruit is matured from the blossom only by progressive degrees, so also does this maturity in the new history advance forward with a measured step. Religion and morals, art and science, are, it is true, progressing in new and widely ramifying paths in this later Christian time, but they are as yet very far from their goal, which is perfection. The same may be said with regard to magnetism, which has yet advanced only so far as the intelligence of those minds which have laboured to comprehend it have themselves advanced. Thus, for example, visions have through the universally diffused doctrines of Christianity assumed in all cases a character in accordance with the current comprehension of good and evil, and of these as God, angels, devils, &c., in human form, with the idea of beauty and goodness, or of deformity and wickedness in its manifold distortion.

A purer and more scientific treatment and understanding of magical appearances commenced in the 16th century; and the clear declaration of magnetism as a peculiar power of nature which might be systematically applied for the cure of diseases, was first made by Fredric Anton Mesmer, so that he really is the discoverer and the central point in the history of magnetism, between the old centuries slumbering on in a shadowy dream life, and the new ages still in twilight, not having as yet advanced into perfect day. For if the knowledge of the mysterious laws and operations of nature was in the olden time of an imaginative character, producing only fantastic results, the knowledge of modern times is of a hard and dry intellectual character, with a certain wide ramification, it is true, but gathering up a

deal of rubbish with its truth. Hence all higher life which is beyond its perception is a subject of derision, and it cannot comprehend any possible utility in magical power. That of which the ancient times had too much, modern times have too little, namely, the want of a stedfast religious sentiment,—the want of the symbolic perception and the artistic imaginative power of the Middle Ages, and, beyond everything else, the want of a firm belief in the immediate operation of God in nature.

Goethe's *Mephistopheles* describes this age excellently in the following lines:—

> Ein Kerl, der speculirt, ist wie ein Thier auf dürrer Haide
> Von einem bösen Geist im Kreis herumgeführt,
> Und ringsumher liegt schöne grüne Weide.
> —Wer will was Lebendiges erkennen und beschreiben,
> Sucht erst den Geist heraus zu treiben;
> Dann hat er die Theile in seiner Hand,
> Fehlt leider! nur das geistige Band.
> *Encheiresin naturæ* nennts die Chemie,
> Spottet ihrer selbst und weiss nicht wie.

APPENDIX.

[Without in any measure attempting to explain, or pass judgment upon the narratives contained in the following Appendix, we would simply present them to the reader as a collection of relations illustrative of Dr. Ennemoser's views, drawn from various and accredited sources, and which the reader may apply to the author's text according to his own individual views.]

APPARITIONS.

THE GHOSTS OF THE SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

Pausanias writes, that four hundred years after the battle of Marathon, there were still heard in the place where it was fought, the neighing of horses, and the shouts of soldiers, animating one another to the fight. Plutarch also speaks of spectres seen, and dreadful howlings heard in the public baths, where several citizens of Chœronea, his native town, had been murdered. He says, that the inhabitants had been obliged to shut up these baths, but that, notwithstanding the precaution, great noises were still heard, and dreadful spectres frequently seen by the neighbours. Plutarch, who is an author of acknowledged gravity and good sense, frequently makes mention of spectres and apparitions; particularly he says, that in the famous battle above alluded to, several soldiers saw the apparition of Theseus fighting for the Greeks and against the Persians.

THE KÖNIGSBERG PROFESSOR.

"I am not so decidedly sceptical on the possibility of supernatural appearance," said Count Falkesheim to Sir

Nathaniel Wraxall, "as to treat them with ridicule, because they may appear to be unphilosophical. I received my education in the university of Königsberg, where I had the advantage of attending lectures in ethics and moral philosophy, delivered by a professor who was esteemed a very superior man in those branches of science. He had, nevertheless, though an ecclesiastic, the reputation of being tinctured with incredulity on various points connected with revealed religion. When, therefore, it became necessary for him in the course of his lectures to treat on the nature of spirit as detached from matter, to discuss the immortality of the soul, and to enter on the doctrine of a future state, I listened with more than ordinary attention to his opinions. In speaking of all these mysterious subjects, there appeared to me to be so visible an embarrassment, both in his language and in his expressions, that I felt the strongest curiosity to question him further respecting them. Finding myself alone with him soon afterwards, I ventured to state to him my remarks on his deportment, and entreated him to tell me if they were well founded or only imaginary suggestions.

"The hesitation which you noticed," answered he, "resulted from the conflict that takes place within me, when I am attempting to convey my ideas on a subject where my understanding is at variance with the testimony of my senses. I am equally, from reason and reflection, disposed to consider with incredulity and contempt the existence of apparitions. But an appearance, which I have witnessed with my own eyes, as far as they, or any of the perceptions can be confided in; and which has even received a sort of subsequent confirmation, from other circumstances connected with the original facts, leave me in that state of scepticism and suspense which pervaded my discourse. I will communicate to you its cause. Having been brought up to the profession of the church, I was presented by Frederick William the First, late King of Prussia, to a small benefice, situated in the interior of the country, at a considerable distance south of Königsberg. I repaired thither in order to take possession of my living, and found a neat parsonage house, where I passed the night in the bedchamber which had been occupied by my predecessor.

"It was in the longest days of summer: and on the following morning, which was Sunday, while lying awake, the curtains of the bed being undrawn, and it being broad daylight, I beheld the figure of a man, habited in a sort of loose gown, standing at a reading desk, on which lay a large book, the leaves of which he appeard to turn over at intervals; on each side of him stood a little boy, in whose face he looked earnestly from time to time, and as he looked he seemed always to heave a deep sigh. His countenance, pale and disconsolate, indicated some distress of mind. I had the most perfect view of these objects, but being impressed with too much terror and apprehension to rise or to address myself to the appearances before me, I remained for some minutes a breathless and silent spectator, without uttering a word or altering my position. At length the man closed the book, and then taking the two children, one in each hand, he led them slowly across the room; my eyes eagerly followed him till the three figures gradually disappeared, or were lost behind an iron stove which stood at the farthest corner of the apartment.

"However deeply and awfully I was affected by the sight which I had witnessed, and however incapable I was of explaining it to my own satisfaction, yet I recovered sufficiently the possession of my mind to get up, and having hastily dressed myself I left the house. The sun was long risen, and directing my steps to the church, I found that it was open; but the sexton had quitted it, and on entering the chancel, my mind and imagination were so strongly impressed by the scene which had recently passed, that I endeavoured to dissipate the recollection by considering the objects around me. In almost all Lutheran churches of the Prussian dominions, it is the custom to hang up against the walls, or some part of the building, the portraits of the successive pastors or clergymen, who have held the living. A number of these paintings, rudely performed, were suspended in one of the aisles. But I had no sooner fixed my eyes on the last in the range, which was the portrait of my immediate predecessor, than they became rivetted to the object; as I instantly recognized the same face which I had beheld in my bed-chamber, though not clouded by the same deep impression of me-

lancholy and distress. The sexton entered as I was still contemplating this interesting head, and I immediately began a conversation with him on the subject of the persons who had preceded me in the living. He remembered several incumbents, concerning whom respectively I made various inquiries, till I concluded by the last, relative to whose history I was particularly inquisitive. 'We considered him,' said the sexton, 'as one of the most learned and amiable men who have ever resided among us. His character and benevolence endeared him to all his parishioners, who will long lament his loss. But he was carried off in the middle of his days by a lingering illness, the cause of which has given rise to many unpleasant reports among us, and which still form matter of conjecture. It is, however, commonly believed that he died of a broken heart.'

"My curiosity being still more warmly excited by the mention of this circumstance, I eagerly pressed him to disclose to me all he knew or had heard on the subject. 'Nothing respecting it,' answered he, 'is absolutely known, but scandal has propagated a story of his having formed a criminal connexion with a young woman of the neighbourhood, by whom it was even asserted he had two sons. As confirmation of the report, I know that there certainly were two children who have been seen at the parsonage, boys of about four or five years old; but they suddenly disappeared, some time before the decease of their supposed father; though to what place they are sent, or what is become of them, we are wholly ignorant. It is equally certain, that the surmises and unfavourable opinions formed respecting this mysterious business, which must necessarily have reached him, precipitated, if they did not produce the disorder of which our late pastor died: but he is gone to his account, and we are bound to think charitably of the departed.

"It is unnecessary to say with what emotion I listened to this relation, which recalled to my imagination, and seemed to give proof of the existence of all that I had seen. Yet, unwilling to suffer my mind to become enslaved by phantoms which might have been the effect of error or deception, I neither communicated to the sexton the circumstance which I had witnessed, nor even permitted myself to quit

the chamber where it had taken place. I continued to lodge there, without ever witnessing any similar appearance; and the recollection itself began to wear away, as the autumn advanced. When the approach of winter rendered it necessary to light fires through the house, I ordered the iron stove which stood in the room, and behind which the figure which I had beheld, together with the two boys, seemed to disappear, to be heated for the purpose of warming the apartment. Some difficulty was experienced in making the attempt, the stove not only smoking intolerably, but emitting an offensive smell. Having, therefore, sent for a blacksmith to inspect and repair it, he discovered in the inside, at the farthest extremity, the bones of two small human bodies, corresponding perfectly in size as well as in other respects with the description given me by the sexton, of the two boys who had been seen at the parsonage.

"This last circumstance completed my astonishment, and appeared to confer a sort of reality on an appearance which might otherwise have been considered as a delusion of the senses. I resigned the living, quitted the place, and retired to Königsberg; but it has produced on my mind the deepest impression, and has in its effect given rise to that uncertainty and contradiction of sentiment which you remarked in my late discourse."

DR. SCOTT AND THE TITLE-DEED.

One evening Dr. Scott was seated by the fire reading at his house, in Broad-street, when accidentally raising his head, he saw in an elbow chair, at the opposite side of the fire-place or chimney, a grave gentleman in a black velvet gown, a long wig, looking with a pleasing countenance towards the doctor, as if about to speak to him.

The doctor was much perturbed. According to his narrative of the fact, the spectre, it seems, spoke first, and desired the doctor not to be alarmed, that he came to him upon a matter of great importance to an injured family, which was in great danger of being ruined; and though he (the doctor) was a stranger to the family, yet knowing him

to be a man of integrity, he had chosen him to do this act of charity and justice.

The doctor was not at first composed enough to enter into the business with due attention, but seemed rather inclined to get out of the room if he could, and once or twice made an attempt to knock for some of the family to come up. The doctor having at length recovered himself, said, "In the name of God, what art thou?" After much importunity on the part of the doctor, the apparition began his story thus:—

"I lived in the county of Somerset, where I left a very good estate, which my grandson enjoys at this time. But he is sued for the possession by my two nephews, the sons of my younger brother."

[*Here he gave his own name, the name of his younger brother, and the names of his two nephews.*]

The doctor then asked him how long the grandson had been in possession of the estate; which he told him was seven years, intimating that he had been so long dead.

He then went on to tell him, that his nephews would be too strong for his grandson in the suit, and would deprive him of the mansion-house and estate; so that he would be in danger of being entirely ruined, and his family reduced.

The doctor then said, "And what am I able to do in it, if the law be against him?"

"Why," said the spectre, "it is not that the nephews have any right; but the grand deed of settlement, being the conveyance of the inheritance, is lost: and for want of that deed they will not be able to make out their title to the estate."

"Well," said the doctor, "and still what can I do in the case?"

"Why," said the spectre, "if you will go down to my grandson's house, and take some persons with you whom you can trust, I will give you such instructions, that you shall find out the deed of settlement, which lies concealed in a place where I put it, and where you shall direct my grandson to take it out in your presence."

"But why then can you not direct your grandson himself to do this?" said the doctor.

"Ask me not about that," said the spectre; "there are divers reasons which you may know hereafter. I can depend upon your honesty in it, in the meantime, and you may so dispose of matters that you shall have your expenses paid you, and be handsomely rewarded for your trouble."

Having obtained a promise from Dr. Scott, the spectre told him he might apprize his grandson that he had formerly conversed with his grandfather, and ask to see the house; and that in a certain upper room or loft, he would see a quantity of old lumber, coffers, chests, &c., which had been thrown aside, to make room for more fashionable furniture.

That, in a certain corner, he should find an old chest, with a broken lock upon it, and a key in it, which could neither be turned in the lock, nor pulled out. In this chest lay the grand deed or charter of the estate, which conveyed the inheritance, and without which the family might be ejected. The doctor having promised to dispatch this important commission, the spectre disappeared.

After a lapse of some days, and within the time limited by the proposal of the spectre, the doctor went into Somersetshire, and, having found the house alluded to, he was very courteously invited in. They now entered upon friendly discourse, and the doctor pretended to have heard much of the family, and of his grandfather, from whom, he said, he perceived the estate descended to its present occupier.

"Aye," said the gentleman, shaking his head, "my father died young, and my grandfather has left things so confused, that, for want of one principal writing, which is not yet come to hand, I have met with great trouble from two cousins, my grandfather's brother's children, who have put me to very great expense about it."

"But I hope you have got over it, sir?" said the doctor.

"No," said the gentleman; "to be candid with you, we shall never get quite over it, unless we can find this old deed: which, however, I hope we shall find; for I intend to make a general search after it."

"I wish with all my heart you may find it, sir," said the doctor.

"I do not doubt but we shall; I had a strange dream about it last night," said the gentleman.

"A dream about the writing!" said the doctor; "I hope it was that you should find it, then."

"I dreamed," said the other, "that a strange gentleman came to me, and assisted me in searching for it. I do not know but that you are the man."

"I should be very glad to be the man," said the doctor.

"Nay," replied the gentleman, "you may be the man to help me to look after it."

"Aye, sir," said the doctor, "I may help you to look after it, indeed, and I will do that with all my heart; but I would much rather be the man that should help you to find it: pray when do you intend to search?"

"To-morrow," said the gentleman, "I have appointed to search for it."

"But," said the doctor, "in what manner do you intend to search?"

"Why," replied the gentleman, "it is our opinion that my grandfather was so very much concerned in preserving this writing, and had so much jealousy as to its safety, that he hid it in a secret place; and I am resolved to pull half the house down but I will find it, if it is above ground."

"Truly," said the doctor, "he may have hid it, so that you may pull the whole house down before you find it. I have known such things utterly lost by the very care taken to preserve them."

"If it was made of something the fire would not destroy," said the gentleman, "I would burn the house down, but I would find it."

"I suppose you have searched all the old gentleman's chests, trunks, and coffers over and over," said the doctor.

"Aye," said the gentleman, "and turned them all inside outward, and there they lie in a heap up in a loft, or garret, with nothing in them; nay, we knocked three or four of them in pieces to search for private drawers, and then I burnt them for anger, though they were fine old cypress chests that cost money enough when they were in fashion."

"I am sorry you burnt them," said the doctor.

"Nay," said the gentleman, "I did not burn a scrap of them till they were all split to pieces, and it was not possible there could be any thing in them."

This made the doctor a little easy, for he began to be surprised when he told him he had split some of them and burnt them.

"Well," said the doctor, "if I cannot do you any service in your search, I will come to see you again to-morrow, and wait upon you during it with my best good wishes."

"Nay," says the gentleman, "I do not design to part with you, since you are so kind as to offer me your assistance; you shall stay all night, then, and be at the commencement of the search."

The doctor had now gained his point so far as to make an intimacy with the family; and, after much intreaty, he consented to sleep there.

A little before dark, the gentleman asked him to take a walk in the park; but he declined; "I would rather, sir," said he, smiling, "that you shew me this fine old mansion house, that is to be demolished to-morrow; methinks I would fain see the house once before you pull it down."

"With all my heart," said the gentleman. He took him immediately up stairs, shewed him the best apartments, and his fine furniture and pictures; and coming to the head of the staircase, offered to descend.

"But, sir," said the doctor, "shall we not go higher?"

"There is nothing there," said he, "but garrets and old lofts full of rubbish, and a place leading to the turret, and the clock-house."

"O, let me see it all, now we are here," said the doctor; "I love to see the old lofty towers and turrets, and the magnificence of our ancestors, though they are out of fashion now: pray let me see them."

After they had rambled over the mansion, they passed by a great lumber room, the door of which stood open.

"And what place is this?" said the doctor.

"O! that is the room," said the gentleman, "where all the rubbish, the chests, coffers, and trunks lie; see how they are piled one upon another almost to the ceiling."

Upon this the doctor began to look around him. He had not been in the room two minutes before he found every thing precisely as the spectre in London had described; he went directly to the pile he had been told

of, and fixed his eye upon the very chest with the old rusty lock upon it, which would neither turn round nor come out.

"On my word, sir," said the doctor, "you have taken pains enough, if you have searched all these drawers, chests, and coffers, and every thing that may have been in them."

"Indeed, sir," said the gentleman, "I have examined them myself, and looked over all the musty writings one by one; and they have all passed through my hand and under my eye."

"Well, sir," said the doctor, "will you gratify my curiosity by opening and emptying this small chest or coffer?"

The gentleman looking at the chest said, smiling, "I remember opening it;" and turning to his servant, he said, "William, do you not remember that chest?" "Yes, sir," replied the servant, "I remember you were so tired, that you sat down upon the chest when every thing was out of it; that you shut the lid and sat down, and sent me to my lady to bring you a dram of citron; and that you said you were ready to faint."

"Well, sir," said the doctor, "it is only a whim of mine, and probably it may contain nothing."

"You shall see it turned upside down before your face, as well as the rest."

Immediately the gentleman caused the coffer to be dragged out and opened. When the papers were all out, the doctor turning round, as if looking among them, but taking little or no notice of the chest, stooped down, and as if supporting himself with his cane, struck the same into the chest, but snatched it out again hastily, as if it had been a mistake, and turning to the chest, he shut the lid, and seated himself upon it. Having dismissed the servant, "Now, sir," said he, "I have found your writing; I have found your grand deed of settlement; and I will lay you a hundred guineas I have it in this coffer."

The gentleman took up the lid again, handled the chest, looked over every part of it, but could see nothing; he was confounded and amazed! "What do you mean?" said he to the doctor, "here is nothing but an empty coffer."

"Upon my word," said the doctor, "I am no magician, but I tell you again the writing is in this coffer."

The gentleman knocked and called for his servant with the hammer, but the doctor still sat composed upon the lid of the coffer.

At length the man came with a hammer and chisel, and the doctor set to work upon the chest, knocking upon the flat of the bottom: "hark!" says he, "don't you hear it, sir? don't you hear it plainly?"

"Hear what?" said the gentleman; "I do not understand you."

"Why, the chest has a double bottom, sir, a false bottom," said the doctor; "don't you hear it sound hollow?"

In a word, they immediately split the inner bottom open, and there found the parchment spread abroad flat on the whole breadth of the bottom of the trunk.

It is impossible to describe the joy and surprise of the gentleman, and of the whole family; and the former sent for his lady, and two of his daughters, into the garret among the rubbish, to see the place and manner in which the writing was found.

APPARITION SEEN BY LADY PENNYMAN AND MRS. ATKINS.

At the commencement of the French revolution, Lady Pennyman and her two daughters retired to Lisle, where they hired a large and handsome house at a trifling rent. During their residence here, the lady received from her husband, Sir John Pennyman, a draft for a considerable sum, which she carried to the banker of the town, and requested to have cashed. The man, as is often the case on the continent, gave her a large portion of silver in exchange. As Lady Pennyman was proceeding to pay some visits, she requested that the banker would send the money to her house, of which she described the situation. The parcel was instantly committed to the care of a porter; and, on the lady's enquiring of him whether he understood, from her directions, the place to which his charge was to be conveyed, the man replied that he was perfectly aware of the place

designated, and that it was called the "Haunted House." The latter part of this answer was addressed to the banker in a low tone of voice, but was overheard by Lady Pennyman: she paid, however, no attention to the words, and naturally supposed that the report connected with her habitation was one of those which are raised by the imagination of the ignorant respecting every dwelling which is long untenanted, or remarkable for its antiquity.

A few weeks afterwards, the words were recalled to her recollection in a manner that surprised her; the housekeeper, with many apologies for being obliged to mention anything that might appear so idle and absurd, came to the apartment in which her mistress was sitting, and said that two of the servants, who had accompanied her ladyship from England, had that morning given warning, and expressed a determination of quitting her ladyship's service, on account of the mysterious noises by which they had been, night after night, disturbed and terrified. "I trust, Carter," replied Lady Pennyman, "that you have too much good sense to be alarmed on your own account by any of these superstitious and visionary fears; and pray exert yourself in endeavouring to tranquillize the apprehension of others, and persuading them to continue in their places." The persuasion of Carter was ineffectual: the servants insisted that the noises which had alarmed them were not the operation of any earthly beings, and persevered in their resolution of returning to their native country.

The room from which the sounds were supposed to have proceeded was at a distance from Lady Pennyman's apartments, and immediately over those which were occupied by the two female servants, who had themselves been terrified by them, and whose report had spread a general panic through the rest of the family. To quiet the alarm, Lady Pennyman resolved on leaving her own chamber for a time, and establishing herself in the one which had been lately occupied by the domestics.

The room above was a long spacious apartment, which appeared to have been for a length of time deserted. In the centre of the chamber was a large iron cage: it was an extraordinary piece of furniture to find in any mansion, but the legend which the servants had collected respecting it

appeared to be still more extraordinary: it was said that a late proprietor of the house, a young man of enormous property, had in his minority been confined in that apartment by his uncle and guardian, and there hastened to a premature death by the privations and cruelties to which he was exposed: those cruelties had been practised under the pretence of necessary correction. The savage purpose of murdering the boy, under the pretence of a strict attention to his interest or his improvement, was successful: the lad was declared to be incorrigible: there was a feigned necessity of the severest correction: he was sentenced to two days' captivity and privation. On his uncle's arriving, with the show of an hypocritical leniency, an hour previous to the appointed time, to deliver him from the residue of his punishment, it was found that death had anticipated the false mercy, and had for ever emancipated the innocent sufferer from the hands of the oppressor.

The wealth was won; but it was an unprofitable acquisition. His conscience haunted him: the form of the dead and inoffensive boy was constantly before him. His dreams represented to his view the playful and beautiful looks that won all eyes towards him, while his parents were yet alive to cheer and to delight him: and then the vision of his sleep would change; and he would see his calm suffering and his silent tears, and his patient endurance and his indefatigable exertions in attempting the accomplishment of the difficult exactions, and his pale cheek, and his wasted limbs, and his spiritless countenance; and then, at last, there was the rigid, bony, and distorted form, the glazed open eye, the mouth violently compressed, and the clenched hands, on which his view had rested for a moment, when all his wicked hopes had attained their most sanguine consummation, and he surveyed the corpse of his murdered relative. These recollections banished him from his home, the mansion was left tenantless; and, till Lady Pennyman inadvertently engaged it, all had dreaded to become the inmates of a dwelling which had been fatal to one possessor, and shunned as destructive to the tranquillity of his heir.

On the first night or two of Lady Pennyman's being established in her new apartment, she met with no interruption; nor was her sleep in the least disturbed by any of

those mysterious noises in the Cage Chamber (for so it was commonly called in the family) which she had been induced to expect by the representations of the departed servants. This quiet, however, was of very short duration. One night she was awakened from her sleep by the sound of a slow and measured step, that appeared to be pacing the chamber overhead; it continued to move backwards and forwards with nearly the same constant and regular motion for rather more than an hour—perhaps Lady Pennyman's agitation might have deceived her, and induced her to think the time longer than it really was. It at length ceased; morn dawned upon her, and she went down to breakfast, after framing a resolution not to mention the event.

Lady Pennyman and her daughters had nearly completed their breakfast, before her son, a young man who had lately returned from sea, descended from his apartment. "My dear Charles," said his mother, "I wonder you are not ashamed of your indolence and your want of gallantry, to suffer your sisters and myself to finish breakfast before you are ready to join us." "Indeed, madam," he replied, "it is not my fault if I am late: I have not had any sleep all night. There have been people knocking at my door and peeping into my room every half hour since I went up stairs to bed: I presume they wanted to see if my candle was extinguished. If this be the case, it is really very distressing; as I certainly never gave you any occasion to suspect I should be careless in taking so necessary a precaution; and it is not pleasant to be represented in such a light to the domestics." "Indeed, my dear, the interruption has taken place entirely without my knowledge. I assure you it is not by any order of mine that your room has been looked into: I cannot think what could induce any servant of mine to be guilty of such a liberty. Are you certain that you have not mistaken the nature and origin of the sound by which your sleep has been disturbed?"—"Oh, no; there could have been no mistake: I was perfectly awake when the interruption first took place, and afterwards it was so frequently repeated as to prevent the possibility of my sleeping."

More complaints from the housekeeper; no servant would remain; every individual of the family had his tale of

terror to increase the apprehensions of the rest; Lady Pennyman began to be herself alarmed. Mrs. Atkins, a woman devoid of every kind of superstitious fear, and of tried courage, understanding, and resolution, determined at once to silence all the stories that had been fabricated respecting the Cage Room, and to allay their terrors by adopting that apartment for her own bedchamber during the remainder of her residence at Lisle. A bed was accordingly placed in the apartment. The Cage Room was rendered as comfortable as possible on so short a notice; and Mrs. Atkins retired to rest, attended by her favourite spaniel.

Mrs. Atkins now examined her chamber in every direction: she sounded every panel of the wainscot, to prove that there was no hollowness, which might argue a concealed passage; and, having bolted the door of the Cage Room, retired to rest. Her assurance was doomed to be shortlived: she had only been a few minutes asleep when her dog, which lay by the bedside, leaped, howling and terrified, upon the bed; the door of the chamber slowly opened, and a pale, thin, sickly youth came in, cast his eyes mildly towards her, walked up to the iron cage in the middle of the room, and then leaned in the melancholy attitude of one revolving in his mind the sorrows of a cheerless and unblest existence. After a while he again withdrew, and retired by the way he entered.

Mrs. Atkins, on witnessing his departure, felt the return of her resolution; she persuaded herself to believe the figure the work of some skilful impostor, and she determined on following its footsteps: she took up her chamber lamp, and hastened to put her design in execution. On reaching the door, to her infinite surprise, she discovered it to be fastened, as she had herself left it, on retiring to her bed. On withdrawing the bolt and opening the door, she saw the back of the youth descending the staircase; she followed, till, on reaching the foot of the stairs, the form appeared to sink into the earth. It was in vain to attempt concealing the occurrences of the night: her voice, her manner, the impossibility of sleeping a second time in the ill omened chamber, would necessarily betray that something of a painful and mysterious nature had occurred.

The event was related to Lady Pennyman: she determined to remain no longer in her present habitation. The man of whom the house had been engaged was spoken to on the subject: he became extremely violent—said it was no time for the English to indulge their imaginations—insinuated something of the guillotine—and bade her, at her peril, drop a single expression to the injury of his property. While she remained in France, not a word was uttered upon the subject; she framed an excuse for her abrupt departure: another residence was offered in the vicinity of Lisle, which she engaged, on a pretext of its being better calculated to the size of her family; and at once relinquished her habitation, and with it every preternatural occasion of anxiety.

Although the preceding story "smells of the cloister," is somewhat tinctured with romance, and has been enlarged upon by successive narrators, the facts are authenticated and accredited by the parties to whom they occurred. An old deserted house at Lisle would probably be an object of terror to weak minds, but not to the understandings of the well-educated heads of a family, as well as to the several members of a large establishment.

THE STORY OF SIR CHARLES LEE'S DAUGHTER.

Sir Charles Lee, by his first lady, had only one daughter, of which she died in child-birth; and when she was dead, her sister, the Lady Everard, desired to have the education of the child, and she was by her very well educated, till she was marriageable, and a match was concluded for her with Sir William Perkins, but was then prevented in an extraordinary manner. Upon a Thursday night, she, thinking she saw a light in her chamber after she was in bed, knocked for her maid, who presently came to her; and she asked, "Why she left a candle burning in her chamber?" The maid said that she had left none, and there was none but what she brought with her at that time. Then she said

it was the fire; but that, her maid told her, was quite out; and said she believed it was only a dream. Whereupon she said it might be so, and composed herself again to sleep. But about two of the clock she was awakened again, and saw the apparition of a little woman between her curtain and her pillow, who told her she was her mother, that she was happy, and that by twelve of the clock that day she should be with her. Whereupon she knocked again for her maid, called for her clothes, and when she was dressed, went into her closet, and came not out again till nine, and then brought out with her a letter sealed addressed to her father, which she gave to her aunt, the Lady Everard, told her what had happened, and declared, that as soon as she was dead, it might be sent to him. The lady thought she was suddenly fallen mad, and thereupon sent presently away to Chelmsford for a physician and surgeon, who both came immediately; but the physician could discern no indication of what the lady imagined, or of any indisposition of her body; notwithstanding the lady would needs have her let blood, which was done accordingly. And when the young woman had patiently let them do what they would with her, she desired that the chaplain might be sent to read prayers; and when prayers were ended, she took her guitar and psalm-book, and sat down upon a chair without arms, and played and sung so melodiously and admirably, that her music-master, who was then there, admired at it. And near the stroke of twelve, she rose and sat herself down in a great chair with arms, and presently fetching a strong breathing or two, immediately expired, and was so suddenly cold, as was much wondered at by the physician and surgeon. She died at Waltham, in Essex, three miles from Chelmsford, and the letter was sent to Sir Charles, at his house in Warwickshire; but he was so afflicted with the death of his daughter, that he came not till she was buried; but when he came he caused her to be taken up, and to be buried with her mother, at Edmonton, as she desired in her letter.

DOROTHY DINGLEY AT LAUNCESTON, IN CORNWALL,

Attested by the Rev. Mr. Ruddle, Minister of that town.

In the beginning of the year 1665, a disease happened in this town, and some of my scholars died of it. Among others who fell victims to its malignity, was John Elliott, the eldest son of Edward Elliott, of Treberse, Esq. a stripling about sixteen years of age, but of uncommon abilities. At his particular request I preached at the funeral, which happened on the 20th day of June, 1665. In my discourse I spoke some words in commendation of the young gentleman. An old gentleman, who was then in the church, was much affected with the discourse, and was often heard to repeat the same evening, a line which I quoted from Virgil:

"*Et puer ipse contrari dignus.*"

The cause of this old gentleman's concern was the application of my observations to his own son, who being about the same age, and but a few months younger than Mr. Elliott, was now by a strange accident quite lost to his parents' hopes.

The funeral ceremony being over, on leaving the church I was courteously accosted by this old gentleman, and, with unusual importunity, almost forced against my will to his house that night; nor could I have even declined from his kindness, had not Mr. Elliott interposed. I excused myself for the present, but was constrained to promise to wait upon him at his own house the Monday following. This then seemed satisfactory, but before Monday I received a message requesting that if possible I would be there on the Sunday. This second attempt I resisted, by answering that it was inconvenient. The gentleman sent me another letter on the Saturday, enjoining me by no means to fail in coming on the Monday. I was indeed startled at so much eagerness, and began to suspect that there must be some design in this excess of courtesy.

On the Monday I paid my promised devoir, and met with a reception as free as the invitation was importunate. There also I met a neighbouring minister, who pretended

to call in accidentally; but, by the sequel, I supposed it otherwise. After dinner, this brother of the cloth undertook to show me the gardens, where, as we were walking, he intimated to me the main object of this visit.

First he apprised me of the infelicity of the family in general, and then instanced the youngest son. He related what a hopeful youth he lately was, and how melancholy and sottish he was now grown. Next he deeply lamented that his ill-humour should so incredibly subdue his reason. "The poor boy," said he, "believes himself to be haunted with ghosts, and is confident that he meets with an evil spirit in a certain field about half a mile from this place, as often as he goes that way to school." In the midst of our discourse, the old gentleman and his lady came up to us. Upon their approach, and pointing to the arbour, the clergyman resumed the narrative, and the parents of the youth confirmed what he said. In fine, they all desired my opinion and advice on the affair.

I replied, that what the youth had reported to them was strange, yet not incredible, and that I knew not then what to think or say on the subject; but if the lad would explain himself to me, I hoped to give them a better account of my opinion the next day.

The youth was called immediately, and I soon entered into a close conference with him. At first I was very cautious not to displease him, but endeavoured to ingratiate myself with him. But we had scarce passed the first salutation and begun to speak of the business, before I found him very communicative. He asserted that he was constantly disturbed by the appearance of a woman in an adjacent field, called Higher Brown Quartils. He next told me, with a flood of tears, that his friends were so unkind and unjust to him, as neither to believe nor pity him; and that if any man would go with him to the place he might be convinced that his assertion was true.

This woman who appears to me, said he, lived neighbour to my father, and died about eight years since; her name was Dorothy Dingley: he then stated her stature, age, and complexion: that she never spoke to him, but passed by hastily, and always left him the foot-path, and that she

commonly met him twice or three times in the breadth of the field.

"Two months," said he, "elapsed before I took any notice of her, and though the face was in my memory, yet I could not recal the name; but I concluded that it was some woman who lived in the neighbourhood, and frequently passed that way. Nor did I imagine otherwise, before she met me constantly morning and evening, and always in the same field, and sometimes twice or thrice in the breadth of it.

"The first time I noticed her was about a year since; and when I began to suspect and believe her to be a ghost, I had courage enough not to be afraid. I often spoke to her, but never had a word in answer. I then changed my way and went to school the under horse road, and then she always met me in the narrow lane, between the quarry park and the nursery-ground.

"At length I began to be terrified, and prayed continually, that God would either free me from her, or let me know the meaning of her appearance. Night and day, sleeping and waking, the shape was ever running in my mind; and I often repeated these places in scripture. Job. vii. 14. "Thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions;" "and Deut. xxviii. 67. "In the morning thou shalt say, would God it were evening, and at evening thou shalt say, would God it were morning, for the fear of thine heart, wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."

I was much pleased with the lad's ingenuity, in the application of these pertinent texts of Scripture to his condition, and desired him to proceed, which he did as follows:—

"By degrees I grew very pensive, insomuch that I was noticed by all our family; being questioned closely on the subject, I told my brother William of it; and he privately acquainted my father and mother.

"They however laughed at me, and enjoined me to attend to my school, and keep such fancies out of my head.

"I accordingly went to school often, but always met the woman in the way."

Our conference ended in my offering to accompany him to the field, which proposal he received with ecstasy; and we accordingly went.

The gentleman, his wife, and Mr. Williams, were impatient to know the event, insomuch that they came out of the parlour into the hall to meet us; and seeing the lad look cheerfully, the first compliment from the old man was, "Come, Mr. Ruddle, you have talked with Sam: I hope now he will have more wit: an idle boy, an idle boy!" At these words the lad ran up stairs to his chamber without replying, and I soon stopped the curiosity of the three expectants, by telling them I had that promised silence, and was resolved to be as good as my word, but that they should soon know all.

The next morning, before five o'clock, the lad was in my chamber; when I arose and went with him. The field he led me to was twenty acres, in an open country, and about three furlongs from any house. We had not proceeded above a third part over the field, before the spectre, in the shape of a woman, with all the circumstances he had described to me in the orchard the day before, met us and passed by. I was somewhat surprised at it; and though I had taken firm resolution to speak to it, yet I had not the power, nor indeed durst I look back. We walked to the end of the field, and returned, but the spectre did not then meet us above once. On our return home, the lady waited to speak with me; I told her that my opinion was, that her son's complaint was not to be slighted, nor altogether discredited. I cautioned her moreover, that the thing might not take wind, lest the whole country should ring with what was as yet uncertain.

On the morning of the 27th day of July, 1665, I went to the haunted field alone, and walked the breadth of it without any encounter. I returned and took the other walk, and then the spectre appeared to me at about the same place I saw it before when the young gentleman was with me; in my idea it moved swifter than the time before, and was about ten feet distant from me on my right hand.

On the evening of this day, the parents, the son, and myself, being in the chamber where I lay, I proposed to them our going altogether to the place next morning; and all resolved upon it. In the morning, lest we should alarm

the servants, they went under the pretence of seeing a field of wheat, and I took my horse, and fetched a compass another way, and met at the stile we had appointed.

Thence we all four walked leisurely into the Quartils, and had passed above half the field before the spectre made its appearance. It then came over the stile just before us, and moved with such swiftness, that by the time we had gone six or seven steps it had passed by. I immediately turned my head and ran after it, with the young man by my side; we saw it pass over the stile at which we entered, but no farther: I stepped up to the hedge at one place and he at another, but could discern nothing, whereas I dare aver, that the swiftest horse in England could not have conveyed himself out of sight in that short space of time. Two things I observed in this day's appearance:—

1. That a spaniel dog which followed the company unregarded, barked and ran away, as the spectre passed by; whence it is easy to conclude that it was not our fear or fancy which made the apparition.

2. That the motion of the spectre was not gradatim, or by steps, and moving of the feet; but a kind of sliding as children upon the ice, or a boat down a swift river, which punctually answers the description which the ancients gave of the motion of their lemurs.

This ocular evidence convinced, but strangely frightened the old gentleman and his wife; who knew Dorothy Dingley in her life time, were at her funeral, and plainly saw her features in this present apparition. I was resolved to proceed, and use such means as learned men have successfully practised, in these uncommon cases.

The next morning being Thursday, I went out very early by myself, and walked for about an hour's space in meditation and prayer in the fields adjoining the Quartils. Soon after five I stepped over the stile, into the disturbed field, and had not gone above thirty or forty paces before the spectre appeared at the farther stile. I spoke to it with a loud voice, whereupon it approached but slowly, and when I came near, it moved not. I spoke again, and it answered in a voice neither very audible nor intelligible. I was not in the least terrified, and therefore persisted, until it spoke again, and satisfied me.

In the same evening, an hour after sun-set, it met me again near the same place, and after a few words on each side it quietly vanished, and neither appeared since, nor ever will more, to any man's disturbance. The conversation in the morning lasted about a quarter of an hour.

APPARITION OF LORD TYRONE TO LADY BERESFORD.

Lord Tyrone and Miss —— were born in Ireland, and were left orphans in their infancy to the care of the same person, by whom they were both educated in the principles of deism.

Their guardian dying when they were each of them about fourteen years of age, they fell into very different hands. Though separated from each other, their friendship was unalterable, and they continued to regard each other with a sincere and fraternal affection. After some years were elapsed, and both were grown up, they made a solemn promise to each other that whichever should die first, would, if permitted, appear to the other, to declare what religion was most approved by the Supreme Being. Miss —— was shortly after addressed by Sir Martin Beresford, to whom she was afterwards married; but a change of condition had no power to alter their friendship. The families visited each other, and often spent some weeks together. A short time after one of these visits, Sir Martin remarked, that when his lady came down to breakfast, her countenance was disturbed, and inquired of her health. She assured him that she was quite well. He then asked her if she had hurt her wrist: "Have you sprained it?" said he, observing a black ribbon round it. She answered in the negative, and added, "Let me conjure you, Sir Martin, never to inquire the cause of my wearing this ribbon; you will never see me without it. If it concerned you as a husband to know, I would not for a moment conceal it; I never in my life denied you a request, but of this I intreat you to forgive me the refusal, and never to urge me farther on the subject." "Very well," said he, smiling, "since you beg me so earnestly, I will inquire no more." The conversation

here ended; but breakfast was scarce over, when Lady Beresford eagerly inquired if the post had come in; she was told it had not. In a few minutes she rang again and repeated the inquiry. She was again answered as before "Do you expect letters?" said Sir Martin, "that you are so anxious for the arrival of the post?" "I do," she answered, "I expect to hear that Lord Tyrone is dead; he died last Tuesday at four o'clock." "I never in my life," said Sir Martin, "believed you superstitious; some idle dream has surely thus alarmed you." At that instant the servant entered and delivered to them a letter sealed with black. "It is as I expected," exclaimed Lady Beresford, "Lord Tyrone is dead." Sir Martin opened the letter; it came from Lord Tyrone's steward, and contained the melancholy intelligence of his master's death, and on the very day and hour Lady Beresford had before specified. Sir Martin begged Lady Beresford to compose herself, and she assured him she felt much easier than she had done for a long time; and added, "I can communicate intelligence to you which I know will prove welcome; I can assure you, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that I shall in some months present you with a son." Sir Martin received this news with the greatest joy. After some months, Lady Beresford was delivered of a son (she had before been the mother of two daughters). Sir Martin survived the birth of his son little more than four years. After his decease his widow seldom left home; she visited no family but that of a clergyman who resided in the same village; with them she frequently passed a few hours every day; the rest of her time was spent in solitude, and she appeared determined for ever to avoid all other society. The clergyman's family consisted of himself, his wife, and one son, who, at the time of Sir Martin's death, was quite a youth; to this son, however, she was after a few years married, notwithstanding the disparity of years and the manifest imprudence of a connexion so unequal in every point of view. Lady Beresford was treated by her young husband with contempt and cruelty, while at the same time his conduct evinced him to be the most abandoned libertine, utterly destitute of every principle of virtue and humanity. By this, her second husband, she had two daughters; after which, such

was the baseness of his conduct that she insisted on a separation. They parted for a few years, when so great was the contrition he expressed for his former conduct, that, won over by his supplications, promises, and entreaties, she was induced to pardon, and once more to reside with him, and was in time the mother of a son.

The day on which she had lain-in a month being the anniversary of her birthday, she sent for Lady Betty Cobb (of whose friendship she had long been possessed) and a few other friends to request them to spend the day with her. About seven, the clergyman by whom she had been christened, and with whom she had all her life been intimate, came into the room to inquire after her health. She told him she was perfectly well, and requested him to spend the day with them; for, said she, "This is my birthday. I am forty-eight to-day." "No, madam," answered the clergyman, "you are mistaken; your mother and myself have had many disputes concerning your age; and I have at last discovered that I was right. I happened to go last week into the parish where you were born; I was resolved to put an end to the dispute; I searched the register, and find that you are but forty-seven this day." "You have signed my death-warrant," she exclaimed; "I have then but a few hours to live. I must, therefore, entreat you to leave me immediately, as I have something of importance to settle before I die." When the clergyman left her, Lady Beresford sent to forbid the company coming, and at the same time to request Lady Betty Cobb and her son (of whom Sir Martin was the father, and was then about twenty-two years of age), to come to her apartment immediately.

Upon their arrival, having ordered the attendants to quit the room, "I have something," she said, "of the greatest importance to communicate to you both before I die; an event which is not far distant. You, Lady Betty, are no stranger to the friendship which subsisted between Lord Tyrone and myself; we were educated under the same roof, and in the same principles of deism. When the friends, into whose hands we afterwards fell, endeavoured to persuade us to embrace revealed religion, their arguments, though insufficient to convince, were powerful enough to

stagger our former feelings, and to leave us wavering between the two opinions: in this perplexing state of doubt and uncertainty, we made a solemn promise to each other, that whichever died first should (if permitted) appear to the other, and declare what religion was most acceptable to God: accordingly, one night, while Sir Martin and myself were in bed, I suddenly awoke and discovered Lord Tyrone sitting by my bed-side. I screamed out and endeavoured to awake Sir Martin: "For Heaven's sake," I exclaimed, "Lord Tyrone, by what means or for what reason came you hither at this time of night?" "Have you then forgotten our promise?" said he. "I died last Tuesday at four o'clock, and have been permitted by the Supreme Being to appear to you, to assure you that the revealed religion is true, and the only religion by which we can be saved. I am further suffered to inform you that you will soon produce a son, which it is decreed will marry my daughter; not many years after his birth Sir Martin will die, and you will marry again, and to a man by whose ill-treatment you will be rendered miserable: you will have two daughters, and afterwards a son, in childbirth of whom you will die in the forty-seventh year of your age." "Just Heavens!" I exclaimed, "and cannot I prevent this?" "Undoubtedly you may," returned the spectre; "you are a free agent, and may prevent it all by resisting every temptation to a second marriage: but your passions are strong, you know not their power; hitherto you have had no trials. More I am not permitted to reveal, but if after this warning you persist in your infidelity, your lot in another world will be miserable indeed!" "May I not ask," said I, "if you are happy?" "Had I been otherwise," he replied, "I should not have been permitted to appear to you." "I may then infer that you are happy?" He smiled. "But how," said I, "when morning comes, shall I know that your appearance to me has been real, and not the mere representation of my own imagination?" "Will not the news of my death be sufficient to convince you?" "No," I returned: "I might have had such a dream, and that dream accidentally come to pass. I will have some stronger proofs of its reality." "You shall," said he, "and waving his hand, the bed curtains, which were crimson

velvet, were instantly drawn through a large iron hoop by which the tester of the bed was suspended." "In that," said he, "you cannot be mistaken; no mortal arm could have performed this." "True," said I, "but sleeping we are often possessed of far more strength than when awake; though waking I could not have done it, asleep I might; and I shall still doubt." "Here is a pocket-book; in this," said he, "I will write my name: you know my hand-writing." I replied, "Yes." He wrote with a pencil on one side of the leaves. "Still," said I, "in the morning I may doubt; though waking I could not imitate your hand, asleep I might." "You are hard of belief," said he: "it would injure you irreparably; it is not for spirits to touch mortal flesh." "I do not," said I, "regard a slight blemish." "You are a woman of courage," replied he, "hold out your hand." I did: he struck my wrist: his hand was cold as marble: in a moment the sinews shrunk up, every nerve withered. "Now," said he, "while you live let no mortal eye behold that wrist: to see it is sacrilege." He stopped; I turned to him again; he was gone. During the time I had conversed with him my thoughts were perfectly calm and collected, but the moment he was gone I felt chilled with horror; the very bed moved under me; I endeavoured, but in vain, to awake Sir Martin: all my attempts were ineffectual, and in this state of agitation and terror I lay for some time, when a shower of tears came to my relief, and I dropped asleep. In the morning, Sir Martin arose and dressed himself as usual without perceiving the state the curtains remained in.

When I awoke I found Sir Martin gone down: I arose, and having put on my clothes, went to the gallery adjoining the apartment and took from thence a long broom (such as cornices are swept with): by the help of this I took down with some difficulty the curtains, as I imagined their extraordinary position might excite suspicion in the family. I then went to the bureau, took up my pocket-book, and bound a piece of black ribbon round my wrist. When I came down, the agitation of my mind had left an impression on my countenance too visible to pass unobserved by my husband. He instantly remarked it, and asked the cause; I informed him Lord Tyrone was no more, that he died

at the hour of four on the preceding Tuesday, and desired him never to question me more respecting the black ribbon; which he kindly desisted from doing. You, my son, as had been foretold, I afterwards brought into the world, and in little more than four years after your birth your lamented father expired in my arms.

"After this melancholy event, I determined, as the only probable chance to avoid the sequel of the prediction, for ever to abandon all society; to give up every pleasure resulting from it, and to pass the rest of my days in solitude and retirement. But few can long endure to exist in a state of perfect sequestration: I began an intimacy with a family, —with one alone; nor could I then foresee the fatal consequences which afterwards resulted from it. Little did I think their son, their only son, then a mere youth, would be the person destined by fate to prove my destruction. In a very few years I ceased to regard him with indifference; I endeavoured by every possible way to conquer a passion, the fatal effects of which I too well knew. I had fondly imagined I had overcome its influence, when the evening of one fatal day terminated my fortitude, and plunged me in a moment down that abyss I had so long been meditating how to shun. He had often solicited his parents for leave to go into the Army, and at last obtained permission, and came to bid me adieu before his departure. The instant he entered the room he fell upon his knees at my feet, told me he was miserable, and that I alone was the cause. At that moment my fortitude forsook me, I gave myself up for lost, and regarding my fate as inevitable, without further hesitation consented to a union; the immediate result of which I knew to be misery, and its end death. The conduct of my husband, after a few years, amply justified a separation, and I hoped by this means to avoid the fatal sequel of the prophecy; but won over by his reiterated entreaties, I was prevailed upon to pardon, and once more reside with him, though not till after I had, as I thought, passed my forty-seventh year.

"But alas! I have this day heard from indisputable authority, that I have hitherto lain under a mistake with regard to my age, and that I am but forty-seven to-day.

Of the near approach of my death I therefore entertain not the slightest doubt.

"When I am dead, as the necessity of concealment closes with my life, I could wish that you, Lady Betty, would unbind my wrist, take from thence the black ribbon, and let my son with yourself behold it." Lady Beresford here paused for some time, but resuming the conversation, she entreated her son would behave himself so as to merit the high honour he would in future receive from a union with the daughter of Lord Tyrone.

Lady B. then expressed a wish to lie down on the bed and endeavour to compose herself to sleep. Lady Betty Cobb and her son immediately called her domestics, and quitted the room, having first desired them to watch their mistress attentively, and if they observed the smallest change in her, to call instantly.

An hour passed, and all was quiet in the room. They listened at the door, and every thing remained still, but in half an hour more a bell rang violently; they flew to her apartment, but before they reached the door, they heard the servant exclaim, "Oh, she is dead!" Lady Betty then bade the servants for a few minutes to quit the room, and herself with Lady Beresford's son approached the bed of his mother; they knelt down by the side of it; Lady Betty then lifted up her hand and untied the ribbon; the wrist was found exactly as Lady Beresford had described it, every sinew shrunk, every nerve withered.

Lady Beresford's son, as had been predicted, is since married to Lord Tyrone's daughter: the black ribbon and pocket-book were formerly in the possession of Lady Betty Cobb, Marlborough Buildings, Bath, who, during her long life, was ever ready to attest the truth of this narration, as are, to the present hour, the whole of the Tyrone and Beresford families.

TWO APPARITIONS TO MR. WILLIAM LILLY.

The following affair excited considerable interest in the north about the middle of last century:—On the first

Sunday, in the year 1749, Mr. Thomas Lilly, the son of a farmer in the parish of Kelso, in Roxburghshire, a young man intended for the Church of Scotland, remained at home to keep the house, in company with a shepherd's boy, all the rest of the family, except a maid-servant, being at church. The young student and the boy being by the fire, whilst the girl was gone to the well for water, a venerable old gentleman, clad in an antique garb, presented himself, and, after some little ceremony, desired the student to take up the family bible, which lay on a table, and turn over to a certain chapter and verse in the Second Book of Kings. The student did so, and read—"There is death in the pot."

On this, the old man, with much apparent agitation, pointed to the great family pot boiling on the fire, declaring that the maid had cast a great quantity of arsenic into it, with an intent to poison the whole family, to the end she might rob the house of the hundred guineas which she knew her master had lately taken for sheep and grain which he had sold. Just as he was so saying, the maid came to the door. The old gentleman said to the student, remember my warning and save the lives of the family!—and that instant disappeared.

The maid entered with a smiling countenance, emptied her pail, and returned to the well for a fresh supply. Meanwhile, young Lilly put some oatmeal into a wooden dish, skimmed the pot of the fat, and mixed it for what is called brose or croudy, and when the maid returned, he with the boy appeared busily employed in eating the mixture. Come, Peggy, said the student, here is enough left for you; are not you fond of croudy? She smiled, took up the dish, and reaching a horn spoon, withdrew to the back room. The shepherd's dog followed her, unseen by the boy, and the poor animal, on the croudy being put down by the maid, fell a victim to his voracious appetite; for before the return of the family from church, it was enormously swelled, and expired in great agony.

The student enjoined the boy to remain quite passive for the present; meanwhile he attempted to show his ingenuity in resolving the cause of the canine catastrophe into insanity, in order to keep the girl in countenance till a fit opportunity of discovering the plot should present itself.

Soon after, his father and family, with the other servants returned from church.

The table was instantly replenished with wooden bowls and trenchers, while a heap of barley bannocks graced the top. The kail or broth, infused with leeks or winter cabbages, was poured forth in plenty; and Peggy, with a prodigal hand, filled all the dishes with the homely dainties of Tiviotdale. The master began grace, and all hats and bonnets were instantly off! "O Lord," prayed the farmer, "we have been hearing thy word, from the mouth of thy aged servant, Mr. Ramsay; we have been alarmed by the awful famine in Samaria, and of death being in the pot!" Here the young scholar interrupted his father, by exclaiming —"Yes, sir, there is death in the pot now here, as well as there was once in Israel!—Touch not! taste not! See the dog dead by the poisoned pot!"

"What!" cried the farmer, "have you been raising the devil by your conjuration? Is this the effect of your study, sir?"—"No, father," said the student, "I pretend to no such arts of magic or necromancy, but this day, as the boy can testify, I had a solemn warning from one whom I take to be no demon, but a good angel. To him we all owe our lives. As to Peggy, according to his intimation, she has put poison into the pot for the purpose of destroying the whole family. Here the girl fell into a fit, from which being with some trouble recovered, she confessed the whole of her deadly design, and was suffered to quit the family and her native country. She was soon after executed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for the murder of her illegitimate child, again making ample confession of the above diabolical design.

In 1750, the same young Lilly was one day reading the 20th chapter of the Revelation of John the Divine, just as he was entering upon that part which describes the angel binding the devil a thousand years, "after which he was to be loosed a little," a very venerable old personage appeared at his elbow: the young man fell on the floor, but quickly arose, and in the name of the Lord demanded who he was, and the nature of his business. Upon this the following colloquy ensued:—

Lilly.—Shall I call thee Satan, the crooked serpent, the devil, Beelzebub, or Lucifer son of the morning?

Appar.—I am a messenger from the dead, to see or to cause justice to be done to thee and thy father. I am the spirit of one of thy ancestors!

Lilly.—Art thou the soul of my grandfather, who amidst immense riches perished for want of food?

Appar.—Thou art right. Money was my deity, and Mammon my master. I heaped up gold, but did not enjoy it.

Lilly.—I have frequently heard my father mention you, as a sordid, avaricious, miserable man. How did you dispose of the immense riches which you are said to have accumulated?

Appar.—It is, for the most part, hidden in a field, in the farm of your father, and I intend that you, his son, should be the sole possessor of it, without suffering your father to know from whence your riches originated. Do not you recognise my face since the beginning of the last year?

Lilly.—Are you the old gentleman whose timely intelligence saved the lives of all our family?

Appar.—I am. Therefore think not your father ill rewarded already.

Lilly.—How can I account to him for the immediate accumulation of so much money as you seem to intimate?

Appar.—Twenty thousand pounds sterling money!

Lilly.—You seem even now in your disembodied state to feel much emotion at the mention of much money.

Appar.—But now I cannot touch the money of mortals.—But I cannot stay. Follow me to the field, and I will point out the precise place where you are to dig.

Here the apparition stalked forth round the barn yard, and Lilly followed him, till he came to a field about three furlongs from his father's door, when the apparition stood still on a certain spot, wheeled thrice round, and vanished into air.

This proved to be the precise place where young Lilly and his companions had often devoted to pastime, being a hollow, whence stone had formerly been dug. He lost but little time in consideration, for having procured a pickaxe

and a spade, he actually discovered the treasure. His immense wealth enabled him to perform many acts of charity in that country, as many can testify to this day.

The pots in which the money, consisting of large pieces of gold and silver, were deposited, have often been shown as curiosities hardly to be equalled in the south of Scotland. —*World of Spirits*, 1796.

MR. BOOTY AND THE SHIP'S CREW.

No circumstance connected with supernatural appearances has occasioned more altercation and controversy than the undermentioned. The narrative certainly has an air of overstrained credulity; nevertheless, the affair is curious, and the coincidence very remarkable, especially as it was a *salvo* for Captain Barnaby. The former part of this narrative is transcribed from Captain Spinks's journal, or log-book, and the latter from the King's Bench Records for the time being.

Tuesday, May the 12th, this day the wind S.SW. and a little before four in the afternoon, we anchored in Manser road, where lay Captains Bristo, Brian, and Barnaby, all of them bound to Lucera to load. Wednesday, May the 13th, we weighed anchor, and in the afternoon I went on board of Captain Barnaby, and about two o'clock we sailed all of us for the island of Lucera, wind W.SW. and bitter weather. Thursday, the 14th, about two o'clock, we saw the island, and all came to an anchor in twelve fathom water, the wind W.SW. and on the 15th day of May we had an observation of Mr. Booty in the following manner: Captains Bristo, Brian, and Barnaby, went on shore shooting colues on Stromboli: when we had done we called our men together, and about fourteen minutes after three in the afternoon, to our great surprise, we saw two men run by us with amazing swiftness: Captain Barnaby said, Lord bless me, the foremost man looks like my next-door neighbour, old Booty, but said he did not know the other that was behind. Booty was dressed in grey clothes, and the one behind in black; we saw them run into the burning mountain in the

midst of the flames, on which we head a terrible noise too horrible to be described: Captain Barnaby then desired us to look at our watches, pen the time down in our pocket-books, and enter it in our journals, which we accordingly did.

When we were laden, we all sailed for England, and arrived at Gravesend, on the 6th of October, 1687. Mrs. Barnaby and Mrs. Brian came to congratulate our safe arrival, and after some discourse, Captain Barnaby's wife said, My dear, I have got some news to tell you; old Booty is dead. He swore an oath, and said we all saw him run into "hell." Some time afterwards, Mrs. Barnaby met with a lady of her acquaintance in London, and told her what her husband had seen concerning Mr. Booty; it came to Mrs. Booty's ears; she arrested Captain Barnaby in £1000 action. He gave bail, and it came to trial at the Court of King's Bench, where Mr. Booty's clothes were brought into court. The sexton of the parish, and the people that were with him when he died, swore to the time when he died, and we swore to our journals, and they agreed within two minutes: twelve of our men swore that the buttons of his coat were covered with the same grey cloth as his coat, and it appeared to be so: the jury asked Mr. Spinks if he knew Mr. Booty in his lifetime; he said he never saw him till he saw him run by him into the burning mountain. The judge then said, Lord, grant that I may never see the sight that you have seen: one, two, or three may be mistaken, but twenty or thirty cannot. So the widow lost the cause.

N.B. It is now in the records at Westminster.

James the Second, 1687,
Herbert, Chief Justice,
Wythens, Holloway, And Wright, } *Justices.*

THE APPARITION OF EDWARD AVON TO THOMAS GODDARD.

Thomas Goddard, of Marlborough, Wilts, weaver, made deposition the 23rd November, 1674. He saith, that on

Monday, the 9th instant, as he was going to Ogborn, at a stile on the highway near Mr. Goddard's ground, about nine in the morning, he met the apparition of his father-in-law, one Edward Avon, of this town, glover, who died in May last, having on, to his appearance, the same clothes, hat, stockings, and shoes he usually wore when he was living, standing by and leaning over that stile. When he came near, the apparition spoke to him with an audible voice those words, "Are you afraid?" To which he answered, "I am thinking on one who is dead and buried, whom you are like." To which the apparition replied with the like voice, "I am he that you were thinking on; I am Edward Avon, your father-in-law: come near to me, I will do you no harm." To which Goddard answered, "I trust in Him who hath bought my soul with his precious blood, you shall do me no harm." Then the apparition said, "How stand cases at home?" Goddard asked, what cases? Then it asked, "How are William and Mary?" meaning, as he conceived, his son William Avon, a shoemaker here, and Mary his daughter, the said Goddard's wife. Then it said, "What! Taylor is dead:" meaning, as he thought, one Taylor of London, who married his daughter Sarah, which Taylor died the Michaelmas before. Then the apparition held out its hand, and in it, as Goddard conceived, twenty or thirty shillings in silver, and then spake with a loud voice, "Take this money and send it to Sarah; for I shut up my bowels of compassion towards her in the time of my life, and now here is something for her." And then said, "Mary (meaning his the said Goddard's wife as he conceived) is troubled for me; but tell her, God hath showed mercy to me contrary to my deserts." But the said Goddard answered, "In the name of Jesus Christ I refuse all such money." Then the apparition said, "I perceive you are afraid; I will meet you some other time." And immediately to his appearance it went up the lane, and he went over the same stile, but saw it no more that day.

He saith, the next night, about seven o'clock, it came and opened his shop-window, and stood in the same clothes, looked him in the face, but said nothing to him. And the next night after it appeared to him again in the same shape;

but he being in fear, ran into his house, and saw it no more then.

But he saith, that on Thursday, the 12th instant, as he came from Chilton, riding down the hill between the manor-house and Axford-farm-field, he saw something like a hare cross his way, at which his horse startled, and threw him in the dirt. As soon as he could recover on his feet, the same apparition there met him again in the same habit, and standing about eight feet directly before him in the way, spoke again to him with a loud voice, "Source, (a word he commonly used when living) you have stayed long;" and then said to him, "Thomas, bid William Avon take the sword that he had of me, which is now in his house, and carry it to the wood as we go to Alton, to the upper end of the wood by the way-side; for with that sword I did wrong about thirty years ago, and he never prospered since he had that sword; and bid William Avon give his sister Sarah twenty shillings of the money which he had of me. And do you talk with Edward Lawrence, for I borrowed twenty shillings of him several years ago, and did say I had paid him, but I did not pay it him; and I would desire you to pay him twenty shillings out of the money which you had from James Elliot at two payments." Which money the said Goddard now saith was five pounds, which James Elliot, a baker, here owed the said Avon on bond, and which he, the said Goddard, had received from the said Elliot since Michaelmas, at two payments, viz.: 35s. at one time, and £3 5s. at another payment. And it farther said to him, "Tell Margaret (meaning his own wife, as he conceived) that I would desire her to deliver up the little which I gave to little Sarah Taylor, to the child, or to any one she will trust for it. But if she will not, speak to Edward Lawrence to persuade her. But if she will not then, tell her that I will see her very suddenly. And see that this be done within a twelvemonth and a day after my decease, and peace be with you." It then went away over the rails into the wood, and he saw it no more at that time. And he saith, that he paid the twenty shillings to Edward Lawrence of this town, who being present now doth remember he lent the said Avon twenty shillings about twenty years ago, which none

knew but himself and wife, and Avon and his wife; and was never paid it again before now by this Goddard.

And this said Goddard farther saith, that this very day, by the Mayor's order, he with his his brother-in-law, William Avon, went with the sword, and about nine o'clock in the morning they laid down the sword in the copse near the place the apparition had appointed Goddard to carry it, and then coming away thence Goddard looking back saw the same apparition again in the same habit as before. Whereupon he called to his brother-in-law and said, "Here is the apparition of our father;" who said, "I see nothing." Then Goddard fell on his knees, and said, "Lord, open his eyes that he may see it." But he replied, "Lord, grant I may not see it, if it be thy blessed will," and then the apparition, to Goddard's appearance, beckoned with his hand to him to come to it. And then Goddard said, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what would you have me do?" Then the apparition said to him, "Thomas, take up the sword, and follow me." To which he said, "Should both of us come, or but one of us?" To which it answered, "Thomas, do you take up the sword." And so he took up the sword and followed the apparition about ten lugs (that is, poles) farther into the copse, and then turning back, he stood still about a lug and a half from it, his brother-in-law staying behind at the place where they first laid down the sword. Then Goddard laying down the sword upon the ground, saw something stand by the apparition like a mastiff dog, of a brown colour. Then the apparition coming towards Goddard, he stepped back about two steps, and the apparition said to him, "I have a permission to you, and commission not to touch you;" and then it took up the sword, and went back to the place at which before it stood, with a mastiff dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the sword in the ground, and said, "In this place lies buried the body of him which I murdered in the year 1635, which is now rotten and turned to dust." Whereupon Goddard said, "I do adjure you in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, wherefore did you commit this murder?" And it said, "I took money from the man, and he contended with me, and so I murdered him." Then Goddard asked him, who was confederate with him in the said murder?

and it said, "None but myself." Then Goddard said, "What would you have me do in this thing?" And the apparition said, "This is that the world may know that I murdered a man, and buried him in this place, in the year 1635."

Then the apparition laid down the sword on the bare ground, whereon nothing grew, but seemed to Goddard to be as a grave sunk in. The apparition then rushing further into the copse vanished, and he saw it no more. Whereupon Goddard, and his brother-in-law Avon, leaving the sword there, and coming away together, Avon told Goddard he heard his voice, and understood what he said, and heard other voices distinct from his, but could not understand a word of it, nor saw any apparition at all. Which he now also present affirmeth, and all which the said Goddard then attested under his hand, and affirmed, he will depose the same when he shall be thereto required.

In the presence of Christ. Lypyatt, *Mayor*, Rolf Bayly, *Town Clerk*, Joshua Sacheveral, *Rector of St. Peter's*, in Marlborough.

Examined by me,
WILL. BAYLY.

OF A DUTCHMAN THAT COULD SEE GHOSTS, AND OF THE GHOST HE SAW IN THE TOWN OF WOODBRIDGE IN SUFFOLK.

Mr. Broom, the minister of Woodbridge in Suffolk, meeting one day, in a barber's shop in that town, a Dutch Lieutenant, (who was blown up with Opdam, and taken alive out of the water, and carried to that town, where he was a prisoner at large,) upon the occasion of some discourse was told by him that he could see ghosts, and that he had seen divers. Mr. Broom rebuking him for talking so idly, he persisted in it very stiffly. Some days after, lighting upon him again, he asked him whether he had seen any ghost since his coming to that town. To which he replied, No.

But not long after this, as they were walking together

up the town, he said to Mr. Broom, "Yonder comes a ghost." He seeing nothing, asked him whereabout it was? The other said, "It is over against such a house, and it walks looking upwards towards such a side, flinging one arm with a glove in its hand." He said, moreover, that when it came near them they must give way to it, that he ever did so, and some that have not done so have suffered for it. Anon he said, "'Tis just upon us; let's out of the way!" Mr. Broom believing all to be a fiction, as soon as he said those words, took hold of his arm, and kept him by force in the way. But as he held him, there came such a force against them, that he was flung into the middle of the street, and one of the palms of his hand, and one knee bruised and broken by the fall, which put him for a while to excessive pain.

But spying the Lieutenant lie like a dead man, he got up as soon as he could, and applied himself to his relief. With the help of others he got him into the next shop, where they poured strong water down his throat, but for some time could discern no life in him. At length, what with the strong water, and what with well chafing him, he began to stir, and when he was come to himself his first words were, "I will shew you no more ghosts." Then he desired a pipe of tobacco, but Mr. Broom told him he should take it at his house; for he feared, should he take it so soon there, it would make him sick.

Thereupon they went together to Mr. Broom's house, where they were no sooner entering in but the bell rang out. Mr. Broom presently sent his maid to learn who was dead. She brought word that it was such an one, a tailor, who died suddenly, though he had been in a consumption a long time. And inquiring after the time of his death, they found it was as punctually as it could be guessed at the very time when the ghost appeared. The ghost had exactly this tailor's known gait, who ordinarily went also with one arm swinging, and a glove in that hand, and looking on one side upwards.

SIR JOHN SHERBROKE AND GENERAL WYNYARD.

These gentlemen were, as young men, officers in the same regiment, which was employed on foreign service. They were connected by similarity of tastes and studies, and spent together, in literary occupation, much of that vacant time which was squandered by their brother officers, in those excesses of the table, which, some forty years ago, were considered among the necessary accomplishments of the military character. They were one afternoon sitting in Wynyard's apartment. It was perfectly light, the hour was about four o'clock; they had dined, but neither of them had drunk wine, and they had retired from the mess to continue together the occupations of the morning. It ought to have been said, that the apartment in which they were, had two doors in it, the one opening into a passage, and the other leading into Wynyard's bed-room. There was no other means of entering the sitting-room but from the passage, and no other egress from the bed-room but through the sitting-room; so that any person passing into the bed-room must have remained there, unless he returned by the way he entered. This point is of consequence to the story.

As these two young officers were pursuing their studies, Sherbroke, whose eye happened accidentally to glance from the volume before him towards the door that opened to the passage, observed a tall youth, of about twenty years of age, whose appearance was that of extreme emaciation, standing beside it. Struck with the presence of a perfect stranger, he immediately turned to his friend, who was sitting near him, and directed his attention to the guest who had thus strangely broken in upon their studies. As soon as Wynyard's eyes were turned towards the mysterious visitor, his countenance became suddenly agitated. "I have heard," says Sir John Sherbroke, "of a man's being as pale as death, but I never saw a living face assume the appearance of a corpse except Wynyard's at that moment." As they looked silently at the form before them,—for Wynyard, who seemed to apprehend the import of the appearance, was deprived of the faculty of speech,

and Sherbroke, perceiving the agitation of his friend, felt no inclination to address it,—as they looked silently upon the figure, it proceeded slowly into the adjoining apartment, and, in the act of passing them, cast its eyes with an expression of somewhat melancholy affection on young Wynyard. The oppression of this extraordinary presence was no sooner removed, than Wynyard, seizing his friend by the arm and drawing a deep breath, as if recovering from the suffocation of intense astonishment and emotion, muttered in a low and almost inaudible tone of voice, "Great God! my brother!"—"Your brother!" repeated Sherbroke, "what can you mean, Wynyard? there must be some deception—follow me;" and immediately taking his friend by the arm, he preceded him into the bed-room, which, as before stated, was connected with the sitting-room, and into which the strange visitor had evidently entered. It has already been said, that from this chamber there was no possibility of withdrawing but by the way of the apartment, through which the figure had certainly passed, and as certainly never had returned. Imagine, then, the astonishment of the young officers, when, on finding themselves in the centre of the chamber, they perceived that the room was perfectly untenanted. Wynyard's mind had received an impression at the first moment of his observing him, that the figure whom he had seen was the spirit of his brother. Sherbroke still persevered in strenuously believing that some delusion had been practised.

They took note of the day and hour in which the event had happened; but they resolved not to mention the occurrence in the regiment, and gradually they persuaded each other that they had been imposed upon by some artifice of their fellow-officers, though they could neither account for the reason, nor suspect the author, nor conceive the means of its execution. They were content to imagine anything possible, rather than admit the possibility of a supernatural appearance. But, though they had attempted these stratagems of self-delusion, Wynyard could not help expressing his solicitude with respect to the safety of the brother whose apparition he had either seen, or imagined himself to have seen; and the anxiety which he exhibited for letters from England, and his frequent mention

of his fears for his brother's health, at length awakened the curiosity of his comrades, and eventually betrayed him into a declaration of the circumstances which he had, in vain, determined to conceal. The story of the silent and unbidden visitor was no sooner bruited abroad, than the destiny of Wynyard's brother became an object of universal and painful interest to the officers of the regiment; there were few who did not enquire for Wynyard's letters before they made any demand after their own, and the packets that arrived from England were welcomed with more than usual eagerness, for they brought not only remembrances from their friends at home, but promised to afford the clue to the mystery which had happened among themselves.

By the first ships no intelligence relating to the story could have been received, for they had all departed from England previously to the appearance of the spirit. At length the long-wished-for vessel arrived; all the officers had letters except Wynyard. Still the secret was unexplained. They examined the several newspapers, but they contained no mention of any death, or of any other circumstance connected with his family that could account for the preternatural event. There was a solitary letter for Sherbroke still unopened. The officers had received their letters in the mess-room at the hour of supper. After Sherbroke had broken the seal of his last packet, and cast a glance on its contents, he beckoned his friend away from the company, and departed from the room. All were silent. The suspense of the interest was now at its climax; the impatience for the return of Sherbroke was inexpressible. They doubted not but that letter had contained the long-expected intelligence. After the interval of an hour Sherbroke joined them. No one dared be guilty of so great a rudeness as to inquire the nature of his correspondence; but they waited in mute attention, expecting that he would himself touch upon the subject. His mind was manifestly full of thoughts that pained, bewildered, and oppressed him. He drew near to the fire-place, and leaning his head on the mantel-piece, after a pause of some moments, said in a low voice, to the person who was nearest to him, "Wynyard's brother is no more!" The first line of Sherbroke's letter was, "Dear John, break to your friend Wynyard the death of his

favourite brother." He had died on the day, and at the very hour on which the friends had seen his spirit pass so mysteriously through the apartment.

It might have been imagined, that these events would have been sufficient to have impressed the mind of Sherbroke with the conviction of their truth; but so strong was his prepossession against the existence, or even the possibility of any preternatural intercourse with the souls of the dead, that he still entertained a doubt of the report of his senses, supported, as their testimony was, by the coincidence of vision and event. Some years after, on his return to England, he was walking with two gentlemen in Piccadilly, when, on the opposite side of the way, he saw a person bearing the most striking resemblance to the figure which had been disclosed to Wynyard and himself. His companions were acquainted with the story; and he instantly directed their attention to the gentleman opposite, as the individual who had contrived to enter and depart from Wynyard's apartment without their being conscious of the means. Full of this impression, he immediately went over, and at once addressed the gentleman: he now fully expected to elucidate the mystery. He apologised for the interruption, but excused it by relating the occurrence, which had induced him to the commission of this solecism in manners. The gentleman received him as a friend. He had never been out of the country; but he was the twin brother of the youth whose spirit had been seen.

This story is related with several variations. It is sometimes told as having happened at Gibraltar, at others in England, at others in America. There are also differences with respect to the conclusion. Some say that the gentleman whom Sir John Sherbroke afterwards met in London, and addressed as the person whom he had previously seen in so mysterious a manner, was not another brother of General Wynyard, but a gentleman who bore a strong resemblance to the family. But, however, the leading facts in every account are the same. Sir John Sherbroke and General Wynyard, two gentlemen of veracity, were together present at the spiritual appearance of the brother of General Wynyard: the appearance took place at the moment of dissolution; and the countenance, and form of the ghost's

figure, were so distinctly impressed upon the memory of Sir John Sherbroke,—to whom the living man had been unknown,—that on accidentally meeting with his likeness, he perceived and acknowledged the resemblance.

MISS PRINGLE.

One morning in the summer of 1745, Mrs. Jane Lowe, housekeeper to Mr. Pringle, of Clifton Park, in the south of Scotland, beheld the apparition of a lady walking in the avenue, on the margin of a rivulet which runs into Kale water. The form resembled a daughter of her master, who had long been absent from the family, at the distance of above a hundred miles south of Paris. As Mrs. Lowe walked down the avenue and approached the rivulet, she grew more and more certain of the similitude of the phantom to the idea in her mind of Miss Pringle, and seeing her master in an enclosure adjoining, she communicated to him what she had seen. Mr. Pringle laughed, and said, "You simple woman, that lady is Miss Ghattow, of Morebattle." However, Mrs. Lowe prevailed upon him to accompany her to the place, which they had nearly reached, when the apparition sprung into the water and instantly disappeared.

Mr. Pringle and Mrs. Lowe, on returning to the hall, apprised the family of the vision, and for their pains were heartily laughed at. The Rev. Mr. Turnbull, minister of Linton, happened to breakfast that morning with Mr. Pringle, his lady, and two young daughters, who joined in the laugh. About three months afterwards, the same reverend gentleman honoured the family with his company; when, standing at a window in the lower room, he observed a poor, ragged, lame, lean man slowly approaching the house. "Here comes another apparition," cried Mr. Turnbull, with a kind of contemptuous smile. This drew the immediate attention of all present, and Mr. Pringle quickly recognized the person to be his second son, whom he had not seen before for above ten years.

On his arrival, he soon convinced them he was not an

apparition, declaring that he had narrowly escaped with his life from Tunis, in the vicinity of which he had been a slave to the Algerines seven years, but had happily been ransomed at the critical moment when he was ordered to be put to death for mutiny. He added, that on his return home through France, he called at the place where he had heard that his sister resided, and, to his unspeakable grief, found that she had died on the 25th of May, the same summer, about five o'clock in the morning, which he recollected to have been the precise time that he was saved from the jaws of death, and when he thought he beheld his sister. Mrs. Lowe, who was present in the room, on hearing this declaration, broke forth into an acclamation, affirming that the day alluded to was that on which she had shown Mr. Pringle the apparition; and this was confirmed by the reverend divine, in whose study this narrative was found after his death.—*Signs before Death.*

Samuel Wallace, of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, a very pious good man, a shoemaker by trade, having been thirteen years sick of a consumption, upon Whitsunday, after sermon, 1659, being alone in the house, and reading in a book called Abraham's Suit for Sodom, heard somebody knock at the door; upon which he arose, and went with his stick in one hand, and holding by the wall with the other, to see who was at the door, where he found a grave old man with hair as white as wool curled up, and a white broad beard, of a fresh complexion, little narrow band, coat and hose of a purple colour, and new shoes tied with black ribbands, without spot of wet or dirt upon him, though it rained when he came in, and had done all that day, hands as white as snow, without gloves, who said to him, "Friend, I pray thee give to an old pilgrim a cup of small beer." Samuel Wallace answering, "I pray you, Sir, come in;" he replied, "Call me not Sir, for I am no sir; but yet come in I must, for I cannot pass by the door before I come in." Wallace, with the help of his stick, drew a little jug pot of small-beer, which the pilgrim took, and drank a little, then walked two or three times to and fro, and drank again,

and so a third time before he drank it all. And when he nad so done, he walked three or four times as before; and then coming to Wallace, said, "Friend, I perceive that thou art not well." Wallace replied, "No, truly, Sir, I have not been well these many years." Then he asked what his disease was. Wallace answered, "A deep consumption, as our doctors say, 'tis past cure." To which the old pilgrim replied, "They say well; but what have they given thee for it?" "Truly nothing," said he, "for I am very poor, and not able to follow the doctor's prescriptions: and so I have committed myself into the hands of Almighty God, to dispose of me as he pleaseth." The old man answered, "Thou sayest very well; but I will tell thee by the Almighty Power of God what thou shalt do; only observe my words, and remember them, and do it; but whatsoever thou dost, fear God, and serve Him. To-morrow morning go into thy garden, and get there two red sage leaves, and one leaf of blood-wort, put these into a cup of small-beer, let them lie there for the space of three days together; drink thereof as often as need requires, but let the leaves remain in the cup; and the fourth morning cast them away, and put three fresh ones in the room; and thus do for twelve days together, neither more nor less. I pray thee remember what I say, and observe and do it: but above all, fear God, and serve him. And for the space of these twelve days thou must neither drink ale nor strong beer; yet afterwards thou mayest, to strengthen nature; and thou shalt see that before these twelve days are expired, through the great mercy and help of Almighty God, thy disease will be cured, and the frame of thy body altered," &c.—with much more to this purpose: adding withal, "that he must change the air, and then his blood would be as good as ever it was, only his joints would be weak as long as he lived: but above all," said he, "Fear God, and serve Him."

Wallace asked him to eat some bread and butter, or cheese: he answered, "No, friend, I will not eat anything; the Lord Christ is sufficient for me; neither but very seldom do I drink any beer, but that which comes from the rock: and so, friend, the Lord God in heaven be with thee."

At parting, Samuel Wallace went to shut the door after

him; to whom the old man, returning half way into the entry, again said, "Friend, I pray remember what I have said, and do it: but above all, fear God, and serve Him."

Wallace said he saw him pass along the street some half a score yards from his door, and so he went in. But nobody else saw this old man, though many people were standing at their doors near Wallace's house. Within four days, upon the use of this drink, a scurf arose upon his body, and under that a new fresh skin; and in twelve days he was as strong as ever he had been, and healthful, excepting only a little weakness in his joints. And once in twelve days, by the importunity of some friends, drinking a little strong drink, he was struck speechless for twenty-four hours. Many ministers, hearing the report of this wonderful cure, met together at Stamford, and considering all the circumstances, and consulting about it, for many reasons concluded the cure to be done by the ministry of an angel. A particular good friend of mine, Mr. Lawrence Wise, minister of the gospel, deceased, had the whole relation from Wallace's own mouth; for going soon after this into Scotland, he took Stamford in his way, and went to Wallace's house, and discoursed an hour or two with him, and does not at all doubt that it was a good angel, that it was sent by the Father of spirits, that came to his house and wrought this cure upon him.—*Nocturnal Revels.*

DR. AND MRS. DONNE.

Doctor Donne and his wife resided for some time with Sir Robert Drury, at his house in Drury-lane. Sir Robert and the Doctor having agreed to accompany Lord Hay in an embassy to the Court of France, the Doctor left his wife, who was then pregnant, in Sir Robert's house. Two days after they had arrived at Paris, Dr. Donne happened to be left alone in the room where they had dined; but in about half an hour Sir Robert returned, when noticing the sad air of the Doctor, Sir Robert earnestly requested him to state what had befallen him in his short absence? The Doctor replied, "Since you left me I have seen a frightful vision,

for I have seen my dear wife pass by me in the room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms." Sir Robert replied, "Surely, Sir, you have slept since I left you, and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I would have you forget, for you are now awake." Dr. Donne replied, "I cannot be more sure that I now live than that I have not slept, that I have seen my wife, and that she stopped short, looked me in the face, and then fled away." This he affirmed the next day with more confidence, which induced Sir Robert to think that there might be some truth in it. Sir Robert immediately dispatched a servant to Drury-house, to ascertain whether Mrs. Donne was alive or dead; and if alive, in what state of health. On the twelfth day the messenger returned, stating that he had seen Mrs. Donne, that she was very ill, and that after a long and painful labour, she had been delivered of a dead child; and upon examination, it proved that the delivery had been on the day Dr. Donne saw her apparition in his chamber.—*Isaac Walton.*

HAUNTED HOUSES.

*To Mr. Samuel Wesley, from his Mother.**

January 12, 1716-7.

Dear Sam,—This evening we were agreeably surprised with your packet, which brought the welcome news of your being alive, after we had been in the greatest panic imaginable, almost a month, thinking either you was dead, or one of your brothers by some misfortune been killed.

The reason of our fears is as follows:—On the 1st of December, our maid heard, at the door of the dining-room, several dismal groans, like a person in extremes, at the point

* The MS. is in the handwriting of Mr. S. Wesley. The titles of the letters, denoting the writers, and the persons to whom they were written, are only added.

of death. We gave little heed to her relation, and endeavoured to laugh her out of her fears. Some nights (two or three) after, several of the family heard a strange knocking in divers places, usually three or four knocks at a time, and then stayed a little. This continued every night for a fortnight; sometimes it was in the garret, but most commonly in the nursery, or green chamber. We all heard but your father, and I was not willing he should be informed of it, lest he should fancy it was against his own death, which, indeed, we all apprehended. But when it began to be so troublesome, both day and night, that few or none of the family durst be alone, I resolved to tell him of it, being minded he should speak to it. At first he would not believe but somebody did it to alarm us; but the night after, as soon as he was in bed, it knocked loudly nine times, just by his bed-side. He rose, and went to see if he could find out what it was; but could see nothing. Afterwards he heard it as the rest.

One night it made such a noise in the room over our heads, as if several people were walking, then ran up and down stairs, and was so outrageous that we thought the children would be frighted, so your father and I rose, and went down in the dark to light a candle. Just as we came to the bottom of the broad stairs, having hold of each other, on my side there seemed as if somebody had emptied a bag of money at my feet; and on his, as if all the bottles under the stairs (which were many) had been dashed in a thousand pieces. We passed through the hall into the kitchen, and got a candle, and went to see the children, whom we found asleep.

The next night your father would get Mr. Hoole to lie at our house, and we all sat together till one or two o'clock in the morning, and heard the knocking as usual. Sometimes it would make a noise like the winding up of a jack; at other times, as that night Mr. Hoole was with us, like a carpenter planing deals; but most commonly it knocked thrice and stopped, and then thrice again, and so many hours together. We persuaded your father to speak, and try if any voice would be heard. One night about six o'clock he went into the nursery in the dark, and at first heard several deep groans, then knocking. He adjured it to

speak if it had power, and tell him why it troubled his house, but no voice was heard, but it knocked thrice aloud. Then he questioned it if it were Sammy, and bid it if it were, and could not speak, knock again, but it knocked no more that night, which made us hope it was not against your death.

Thus it continued till the 28th of December, when it loudly knocked (as your father used to do at the gate) in the nursery, and departed. We have various conjectures what this may mean. For my own part, I fear nothing now you are safe at London hitherto, and I hope God will still preserve you: though sometimes I am inclined to think my brother is dead. Let me know your thoughts on it.

S. W.

From Mrs. Susannah Wesley to her Brother Samuel.

Epworth, Jan. 24.

Dear Brother,—About the 1st of December, a most terrible and astonishing noise was heard by a maid-servant as at the dining-room door, which caused the up-starting of her hair, and made her ears prick forth at an unusual rate. She said it was like the groans of one expiring. These so frighted her, that for a great while she durst not go out of one room into another, after it began to be dark, without company. But, to lay aside jesting, which should not be done in serious matters, I assure you that from the first to the last of a lunar month, the groans, squeaks, tinglings, and knockings, were frightful enough.

Though it is needless for me to send you any account of what we all heard, my father himself having a larger account of the matter than I am able to give, which he designs to send you; yet, in compliance with your desire, I will tell you as briefly as I can what I heard of it. The first night I ever heard it, my sister Nancy and I were sitting in the dining-room. We heard something rush on the outside of the doors that opened into the garden, then three loud knocks, immediately after other three, and in half a minute the same number over our heads. We enquired whether any body had been in the garden, or in the room above us,

but there was nobody. Soon after my sister Molly and I were up after all the family were a-bed, except my sister Nancy, about some business. We heard three bouncing thumps under our feet, which soon made us throw away our work and tumble into bed. Afterwards the tingling of the latch and warming-pan; and so it took its leave that night.

Soon after the above-mentioned, we heard a noise as if a great piece of sounding metal was thrown down on the outside of our chamber. We, lying in the quietest part of the house, heard less than the rest for a pretty while; but the latter end of the night that Mr. Hoole sat up I lay in the nursery, where it was very violent. I then heard frequent knocks over and under the room where I lay, and at the children's bed head, which was made of boards. It seemed to rap against it very hard and loud, so that the bed shook under them. I heard something walk by my bedside like a man in a long night-gown. The knocks were so loud, that Mr. Hoole came out of his chamber to us. It still continued. My father spoke, but nothing answered. It ended that night with my father's particular knock, very fierce.

It is now pretty quiet, only at our repeating the prayers for the king and prince, when it usually begins, especially when my father says, "Our most gracious Sovereign Lord," &c. This my father is angry at, and designs to say three instead of two for the royal family. We all heard the same noise, and at the same time, and as coming from the same place. To conclude this, it now makes its personal appearance: but of this more hereafter. Do not say one word of this to our folks, nor give the least hint.

I am,
Your sincere friend and affectionate Sister,
SUSANNAH WESLEY.

From Miss Emily Wesley to her Brother Samuel.

DEAR BROTHER,—I thank you for your last, and shall give you what satisfaction is in my power concerning what has happened in our family. I am so far from being superstitious, that I was too much inclined to infidelity, so that I

heartily rejoice at having such an opportunity of convincing myself, past doubt or scruple, of the existence of some beings besides those we see. A whole month was sufficient to convince any body of the reality of the thing, and to try all ways of discovering any trick, had it been possible for any such to have been used. I shall only tell you what I myself heard, and leave the rest to others.

My sisters in the paper chamber had heard noises, and told me of them, but I did not much believe, till one night, about a week after the first groans were heard, which was the beginning, just after the clock had struck ten, I went down stairs to lock the doors, which I always do. Scarce had I got up the best stairs, when I heard a noise like a person throwing down a vast coal in the middle of the fore kitchen, and all the splinters seemed to fly about from it. I was not much frighted, but went to my sister Suky, and we together went all over the low rooms; but there was nothing out of order.

Our dog was fast asleep, and our only cat in the other end of the house. No sooner was I got up stairs, and undressing for bed, but I heard a noise among many bottles that stand under the best stairs, just like the throwing of a great stone among them, which had broke them all to pieces. This made me hasten to bed; but my sister Hetty, who sits always to wait on my father going to bed, was still sitting on the lowest step on the garret stairs, the door being shut at her back, when soon after there came down the stairs behind her something like a man, in a loose night-gown trailing after him, which made her fly rather than run to me in the nursery.

All this time we never told our father of it; but soon after we did. He smiled, and gave no answer, but was more careful than usual from that time to see us in bed, imagining it to be some of us young women that sat up late and made a noise. His incredulity, and especially his imputing it to us, or our lovers, made me, I own, desirous of its continuance till he was convinced. As for my mother, she firmly believed it to be rats, and sent for a horn to blow them away. I laughed to think how wisely they were employed, who were striving half a day to fright away Jeffery, for that name I gave it, with a horn.

But whatever it was, I perceived it could be made angry; for from that time it was so outrageous, there was no quiet for us after ten at night. I heard frequently between ten and eleven something like the quick winding up of a jack, at the corner of the room by my bed's head, just like the running of the wheels and the creaking of the ironwork. This was the common signal of its coming. Then it would knock on the floor three times, then at my sister's bed's head, in the same room, almost always three together, and then stay. The sound was hollow and loud, so as none of us could ever imitate.

It would answer to my mother, if she stamped on the floor, and bid it. It would knock when I was putting the children to bed, just under me where I sat. One time little Kesy, pretending to scare Patty, as I was undressing them, stamped with her foot on the floor, and immediately it answered with three knocks, just in the same place. It was more loud and fierce if any one said it was rats, or any thing natural.

I could tell you abundance more of it, but the others will write, and therefore it would be needless. I was not much frighted at first, and very little at last; but it was never near me, except two or three times, and never followed me, as it did my Sister Hetty. I have been with her when it has knocked under her, and when she has removed has followed, and still kept just under her feet, which was enough to terrify a stouter person.

If you would know my opinion of the reason of this, I shall briefly tell you. I believe it to be witchcraft, for these reasons. About a year since, there was a disturbance at a town near us, that was undoubtedly witches; and if so near, why may they not reach us? Then my father had for several Sundays before its coming preached warmly against consulting those that are called cunning men, which our people are given to; and it had a particular spite at my father.

Besides, something was thrice seen. The first time by my mother, under my sister's bed, like a badger, only without any head that was descernible. The same creature sate by the dining-room fire one evening: when our man went into the room; it ran by him, through the hall and under the stairs. He followed with a candle, and searched, but it was

departed. The last time he saw it in the kitchen, like a white rabbit, which seems likely to be some witch; and I do so really believe it to be one, that I would venture to fire a pistol at it, if I saw it long enough. It has been heard by me and others since December. I have filled up all my room, and have only time to tell you, I am,

Your loving Sister,
EMILY WESLEY.

Addenda to and from my Father's Diary.

Friday, December 21. Knocking I heard first, I think, this night: to which disturbances, I hope, God will in his good time put an end.

Sunday, December 23. Not much disturbed with the noises that are now grown customary to me.

Wednesday, December 26. Sat up to hear noises. Strange! spoke to it, knocked off.

Friday, 28. The noises very boisterous and disturbing this night.

Saturday, 29. Not frighted, with the continued disturbance of my family.

Tuesday, January 1, 1717. My family have had no disturbance since I went.

Of the general Circumstances which follow, most, if not all the Family, were frequent Witnesses.

1. Presently after any noise was heard, the wind commonly rose, and whistled very loud round the house, and increased with it.

2. The signal was given, which my father likens to the turning round of a windmill when the wind changes; Mr. Hoole (Rector of Haxey) to the planing of deal boards; my sister to the swift winding up of a jack. It commonly began at the corner of the top of the nursery.

3. Before it came into any room, the latches were frequently lifted up, the windows clattered, and whatever iron or brass was about the chamber, rung and jarred exceedingly.

4. When it was in any room, let them make what noise they would, as they sometimes did on purpose, its dead hollow note would be clearly heard above them all.

5. It constantly knocked while the prayers for the King

and Prince were repeating, and was plainly heard by all in the room, except my father, and sometimes by him, as were also the thundering knocks of the Amen.

6. The sound very often seemed in the air in the middle of a room, nor could any of the family ever make such themselves by any contrivance.

7. Though it seemed to rattle down the pewter, to clap the doors, draw the curtains, kick the man's shoes up and down, &c. yet it never moved any thing except the latches, otherwise than by making it tremble; unless once when it threw open the nursery door.

8. The mastiff, though he barked violently at it the first day he came, yet whenever it came after that, nay, sometimes before the family perceived it, he ran whining, or quite silent, to shelter himself behind some of the company.

9. It never came by day, till my mother ordered the horn to be blown.

10. After that time, scarce any one could go from one room to another, but the latch of the room they went to was lifted up before they touched it.

11. It never came once into my father's study, till he talked to it sharply, called it deaf and dumb devil, and bid it cease to disturb the innocent children, and come to him in his study if it had anything to say to him.

12. From the time of my mother's desiring it not to disturb her from five to six, it was never heard in her chamber from five till she came down stairs, nor at any other time, when she was employed in devotion.

13. Whether our clock went right or wrong, it always came, as near as could be guessed, when by the night it wanted a quarter of ten.

The Rev. Mr. Hoole's Account.

Sept. 10.

As soon as I came to Epworth, Mr. Wesley telling me, he sent for me to conjure, I knew not what he meant, till some of your sisters told me what had happened, and that I was sent for to sit up. I expected every hour, it being then about noon, to hear something extraordinary, but to no purpose. At supper, too, and at prayers, all was silent, contrary to custom; but soon after, one of the maids, who went up to prepare a bed, brought the alarm that Jeffrey was come above stairs. We all went up, and as we were standing

round the fire in the east chamber, something began knocking just on the other side of the wall, on the chimney-piece, as with a key. Presently the knocking was under our feet. Mr. Wesley and I went down, he with a great deal of hope, and I with fear. As soon as we were in the kitchen, the sound was above us, in the room we had left. We returned up the narrow stairs, and heard at the broad stairs head, some one slaring with their feet (all the family being now in bed beside us) and then trailing, as it were, and rustling with a silk night-gown. Quickly it was in the nursery, at the bed's head, knocking as it had done at first, three by three. Mr. Wesley spoke to it, and said he believed it was the devil, and soon after it knocked at the window, and changed its sound into one like the planing of boards. From thence it went on the outward south side of the house, sounding fainter and fainter, till it was heard no more.

I was no other time than this during the noises at Epworth, and do not now remember any more circumstances than these.—*See Southey's Life of Wesley*, Vol. i.

THE DRUMMER OF TEDWORTH.

Every one has heard of the comedy of "*The Drummer, or the Haunted House*," celebrated enough in its day; but the popularity of which ceased when the affair was no longer a topic of public conversation. The circumstances which gave rise to this performance are detailed as follows, by Glanvil, by whose statement it appears that the matter turned out to be no farce for Mr. Mompesson, the proprietor of the house. As there is an air of incredibility about the narrative, we give it in Glanvil's precise words.

Mr. John Mompesson, of Tedworth, in the county of Wilts, being about the middle of March, in the year 1661, at a neighbouring town, called Ludgarshal, and hearing a drum beat there, he inquired of the bailiff of the town, at whose house he then was, what it meant. The bailiff told him, that they had for some days been troubled with an idle drummer, who demanded money of the constable by virtue of a pretended pass, which he thought was counterfeit. Upon this, Mr. Mompesson sent for the fellow, and asked him by what authority he went up and down the country in that manner with his drum. The drummer answered,

he had good authority, and produced his pass, with a warrant under the hands of Sir William Cawley and Colonel Ayliff, of Gretenham. Mr. Mompesson knowing these gentlemen's hands, discovered that the pass and warrant were counterfeit, and thereupon commanded the vagrant to put off his drum, and charged the constable to carry him before the next Justice of the Peace, to be farther examined and punished. The fellow then confessed the cheat, and begged earnestly to have his drum. Mr. Mompesson told him, that if he understood from Colonel Ayliff, whose drummer he said he was, that he had been an honest man, he should have it again, but in the mean time he would secure it; so he left the drum with the bailiff, and the drummer in the constable's hands, who it seems was prevailed on by the fellow's intreaties to let him go.

About the middle of April following, when Mr. Mompesson was preparing for a journey to London, the bailiff sent the drum to his house: on his return from his journey, his wife told him that they had been much frightened in the night by thieves, and that the house had like to have been broken into. And he had not been at home above three nights, when the same noise was heard that had disturbed his family in his absence. It was a very great knocking at his doors and the outside of his house: hereupon he got up, and went about the house with a brace of pistols in his hands; he opened the door where the great knocking was, and then he heard the noise at another door; he opened that also, and went out round the house, but could discover nothing, only he still heard a strange noise and hollow sound. When he was got back to bed, the noise was a thumping and drumming on the top of his house, which continued for some time, and then by degrees subsided.

After this the noise of thumping and drumming was very frequent, usually five nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outside of the house, which was most principally board. It constantly came as they were going to sleep, whether early or late. After a month's disturbance without, it came into the room where the drum lay, four or five nights in seven, within half an hour after they were in bed, continuing almost two. The sign of it just before it came was, they still heard a hurling in the

air over the house, and, at its going off, the beating of a drum, like that at the breaking up of a guard. It continued in this room for the space of two months, which time Mr. Mompesson himself lay there to observe it. In the fore part of the night it used to be very troublesome, but after two hours all was quiet.

Mrs. Mompesson being brought to bed, there was but little noise the night she was in travail, nor any for three weeks after, till she had recovered her strength. But after this cessation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vexed the youngest children, beating their bedsteads with such violence, that all present expected they would fall in pieces. In laying hands on them, one could feel no blows, but might perceive them to shake exceedingly: for an hour together it would beat the Tat-too, and several other points of war, as well as any drummer. After this, they would hear a scratching under the children's beds, as if by something that had iron talons. It would lift the children up in their beds, follow them from one room to another, and for a while haunted none particularly but them.

There was a cock-loft in the house which had not been observed to be troubled, whither they removed the children, putting them to bed while it was fair day, where they were no sooner laid, but their troubler was with them as before.

On the fifth of November, 1661, it kept a mighty noise, and a servant observing two boards in the children's room seeming to move, he bid it give him one of them; upon which the board came (nothing moving it that he saw) within a yard of him: the man added, "Nay, let me have it in my hand;" upon which it was shoved quite home to him again, and so up and down, to and fro, at least twenty times together, till Mr. Mompesson forbade his servant such familiarities. This was in the day-time, and seen by a whole room-full of people. That morning it left a sulphurous smell behind it, which was very offensive. At night the minister, one Mr. Cragg, and divers of the neighbours, came to the house on a visit. The minister went to prayers with them, kneeling at the children's bed-side, where it was then very troublesome and loud. During prayer-time it withdrew into the cock-loft, but returned as soon as prayers

were done, and then in sight of the company the chairs walked about the room of themselves, the children's shoes were hurled over their heads, and every loose thing moved about the chamber. At the same time a bed-staff was thrown at the minister, which hit him on the leg, but so favourably that a lock of wool could not fall more softly, and it was observed that it stopt just where it lighted, without rolling or moving from the place.

Mr. Mompesson perceiving that it so much persecuted the little children, lodged them out at a neighbour's house, taking his eldest daughter, who was about ten years of age, into his own chamber, where it had not been a month before. As soon as she was in bed, the disturbance began there again, continuing three weeks drumming, and making other noises, and it was observed that it would exactly answer in drumming any thing that was beaten or called for. After this, the house where the children lodged out, happening to be full of strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the parlour, they were lodged there, where also their persecutor found them, but then only plucked them by the hair and night-clothes, without any other disturbance.

It was noted, that when the noise was loudest, and came with the most sudden and surprising violence, no dog about the house would move, though the knocking was often so boisterous and rude, that it had been heard at a considerable distance in the fields, and awakened the neighbours in the village, none of which lived very near this house. The servants sometimes were lifted up in their beds, and let gently down again without hurt, at other times it would lie like a great weight upon their feet.

About the latter end of December, 1661, the drumming was less frequent, and then they heard a noise like the jingling of money, occasioned, as it was thought, by something Mr. Mompesson's mother had spoken the day before to a neighbour, who talked of fairies leaving money, viz.: that she should like it well, if it would leave them some to make amends for their trouble; the night after the speaking of which, there was a great chinking of money over all the house.

After this, it desisted from the ruder noises, and employed

itself in trifling apish and less troublesome tricks. On Christmas-eve, a little before day, one of the young boys arising out of his bed, was hit on a sore place upon his heel, with the latch of the door: the pin that it was fastened with was so small, that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The night after Christmas-day, it threw the old gentlewoman's clothes about the room, and hid her bible in the ashes. In such silly tricks it frequently indulged.

After this, it was very troublesome to a servant of Mr. Mompesson's, who was a stout fellow, and of sober conversation; this man lay within during the greatest disturbance, and for several nights something would endeavour to pluck his clothes off the bed, so that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and sometimes they would be plucked from him by main force, and his shoes thrown at his head; and now and then he should find himself forcibly held as it were, bound hand and foot, but he found that whenever he could make use of his sword, and struck with it, the spirit quitted its hold.

A little after these contests, a son of Mr. Thomas Bennet, whose workman the drummer had sometimes been, came to the house and told Mr. Mompesson some words that he had spoken, which it seems were not well received; for as soon as they were in bed, the drum was beat up very violently and loudly; the gentleman arose and called his man to him, who lay with Mr. Mompesson's servant, just mentioned, whose name was John. As soon as Mr. Bennet's man was gone, John heard a ruffling noise in his chamber, and something came to his bedside, as if it had been one in silk; the man presently reached after his sword, which he found held from him, and it was with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power, which as soon as he had done, the spectre left him, and it was always observed that it still avoided a sword.

About the beginning of January, 1662, they were wont to hear a singing in the chimney before it came down; and one night, about this time, lights were seen in the house. One of them came into Mr. Mompesson's chamber, which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the eyes of those that saw it. After the light, something was heard coming up the stairs, as if it had been one

without shoes. The light was seen also four or five times in the children's chamber; and the maids confidently affirm, that the doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their sight, and when they were open they heard a noise as if half a dozen had entered together, after which some were heard to walk about the room, and one ruffled as if it had been silk; Mr. Mompesson himself once heard these noises.

During the time of the knocking, when many were present, a gentleman of the company said, "Satan, if the drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more;" which it did very distinctly, and stopped. Then the gentleman knocked to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it did not: for farther trial, he bid it for confirmation, if it were the drummer, to give five knocks and no more that night, which it did, and left the house quiet all the night after. This was done in the presence of Sir Thomas Chamberlain, of Oxfordshire, and divers others.

On Saturday morning, an hour before day, January 10, a drum was heard to beat on the outside of Mr. Mompesson's chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the house, where some gentlemen strangers lay, playing at their door, and without, four or five several tunes, and so went off into the air.

The next night, a smith in the village lying with John, the man, heard a noise in the room, as one had been shoeing a horse, and somewhat came, as if it were with a pair of pincers, snipping at the smith's nose most part of the night.

One morning, Mr. Mompesson, rising early to go a journey, heard a great noise below where the children lay, and running down with a pistol in his hand, he heard a voice crying "A witch, a witch," as they also had heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was quiet.

Having one night played some little tricks at Mr. Mompesson's bed's feet, it went into another bed where one of his daughters lay; there it went from side to side, lifting her up as it passed under. At the time that there were three kinds of noises in the bed, they endeavoured to thrust at it with a sword, but it still shifted and carefully avoided the thrust, still getting under the child, when they offered at it. The night after, it came panting like a dog out of

breath; upon which one took a bed-staff to knock, which was caught out of her hand, and thrown away, and company coming up, the room was presently filled with a noisome smell, and was very hot, though without fire, in a very sharp and severe winter. It continued in the bed panting and scratching for an hour and half, and then went into the next chamber, where it knocked a little, and seemed to rattle a chain; thus it did for two or three nights together.

After this, the lady's Bible was found in the ashes, the paper sides being downwards. Mr. Mompesson took it up, and observed that it lay open at the third chapter of St. Mark, where there is mention of the unclean spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the twelve to cast out devils, and of the scribes' opinion, that he cast them out through Beelzebub.

The next night they strewed ashes over the chamber, to see what impressions it would leave; in the morning they found in one place the resemblance of a great claw, in another of a lesser, some letters in another, which they could make nothing of, besides many circles and scratches in the ashes.

"About this time," says Glanvil, "I went to the house to enquire the truth of those passages, of which there was so loud a report. It had ceased from its drumming and ruder noises before I came thither, but most of the more remarkable circumstances before related were confirmed to me there, by several of the neighbours together, who had been present at them. At this time it used to haunt the children, and that as soon as they were laid in bed. They went to bed that night I was there about eight o'clock, when a maid servant coming down from them, told us it was come. The neighbours who were there, and two ministers who had seen and heard it divers times, went away; but Mr. Mompesson and I, and a gentleman who came with me, went up. I heard a strange scratching as I went up the stairs, and when we came into the room I perceived it was just behind the bolster of the children's bed, and seemed to be against the ticking. It was as loud a scratching as one with long nails could make upon a bolster. There were two little modest girls in the bed,

between seven and eight years old, as I guessed. I saw their hands out of the clothes, and they could not contribute to the noise that was behind their heads; they had been used to it, and had still somebody or other in the chamber with them, and therefore seemed not to be much affrighted. I, standing at the bed's head, thrust my hand behind the bolster, directing it to the place whence the noise seemed to come, whereupon the noise ceased there, and was heard in another part of the bed; but when I had taken out my hand it returned, and was heard in the same place as before. I had been told it would imitate noises, and made trial by scratching several times upon the sheet, as five and seven and ten, which it followed, still stopping at my number. I searched under and behind the bed, turned up the clothes to the bed-cords, grasped the bolster, sounded the wall behind, and made all the search that possibly I could, to find if there were any trick, contrivance, or common cause of it; the like did my friend, but we could discover nothing. So that I was then verily persuaded, and am so still, that the noise was made by some demon or spirit. After it had scratched about half an hour more, it went into the midst of the bed under the children, and there seemed to pant like a dog out of breath, very loudly. I put my hand to the place, and felt the bed bearing up against it, as if something within had thrust it up. I grasped the feathers, to feel if any living thing were in it. I looked under and everywhere about, to see if there were any dog or cat or any such creature in the room, and so did we all, but found nothing. The motion it caused by this panting was so strong, that it shook the room and windows very sensibly. It continued thus more than half an hour, while my friend and I stayed in the room, and as long after, as we were told. During the panting, I chanced to see as it had been something (which I thought was a rat or mouse) moving in a linen-bag, that hung up against another bed that was in the room. I stepped and caught it by the upper end with one hand, with which I held it, and drew it through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was nobody near to shake the bag, or if there had, no one could have made such a motion, which seemed to be from within, as if a living creature had moved in it. This passage I mentioned

not in the former relations, because it depended upon my single testimony, and may be subject to more evasions than the other I related; but having told it to divers learned and inquisitive men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable, I have now added it here. It will, I know, be said by some, that my friend and I were under some fright, and so fancied noises and sights that were not. This is the eternal evasion. But if it be possible to know how a man is affected when in fear, and when unconcerned, I certainly know for my own part, that during the whole time of my being in the room, and in the house, I was under no more affright than I am while I write this relation. And if I know that I am now awake, and that I see the objects that are before me, I know that I heard and saw the particulars I have told. There is, I am sensible, no great matter for story in them, but there is so much as convinceth me, that there was something extraordinary, and what we usually call preternatural, in the business. There were other passages at my being at Tedworth, which I published not, because they are not such plain and unexceptionable proofs. I shall now briefly mention them: *Valeant quantum valere possunt.* My friend and I lay in the chamber where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all night, but early before day in the morning, I was awakened (and I awakened my bed-fellow,) by a loud knocking just without our chamber door. I asked who was there several times, but the knocking still continued without answer. At last I said, "In the name of God, who is it, and what would you have?" To which a voice answered, "Nothing with you." We thinking it had been some servant of the house, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. Mompesson when we came down, he assured us, that no one of the house lay that way, or had business thereabout, and that his servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was day. They all affirmed and protested that the noise was not made by them. Mr. Mompesson had told us before, that it would be gone in the middle of the night, and come again divers times early in the morning, about four o'clock, and this I suppose was about that time.

But to proceed with Mr. Mompesson's own particulars.

There came one morning a light into the children's chamber, and a voice crying "A witch, a witch," for at least an hundred times together.

Mr. Mompesson at another time (being in the day), seeing some wood move that was in the chimmey of a room where he was, as of itself, discharged a pistol into it, after which they found several drops of blood on the hearth, and in divers places of the stairs.

For two or three nights after the discharge of the pistol, there was a calm in the house, but then it came again, applying itself to a little child newly taken from nurse, which it so persecuted, that it would not let the poor infant rest for two nights together, nor suffer candles in the room, but carried them away, lighted, up the chimney, or threw them under the bed. It so scared this child by leaping upon it, that for some hours it could not be recovered from the fright, so that they were forced again to remove the children out of the house. The next night after which, something about midnight came up stairs, and knocked at Mr. Mompesson's door, but he lying still, it went up another pair of stairs, to his man's chamber, to whom it appeared, standing at his bed's foot; the exact shape and proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great body, with two red and glaring eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappeared.

About the beginning of April, 1663, a gentleman who lay in the house had all his money turned black in his pockets; and Mr. Mompesson coming one morning into his stable, found the horse he was wont to ride on the ground, having one of his hinder legs in his mouth, and so fastened there, that it was difficult for several men to get it out with a lever. After this, there were some other remarkable things, but the account goes no farther; only Mr. Mompesson positively asserted, that afterwards the house was several nights beset with seven or eight in the shape of men, who, as soon as a gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into harbour.

The drummer was tried at the assizes at Salisbury upon this occasion. He was committed first to Gloucester gaol for stealing, and a Wiltshire man coming to see him, he asked what news in Wiltshire; the visitant said he knew of

none. "No!" saith the drummer, "do not you hear of the drumming at a gentleman's house at Tedworth?" "That I do enough," said the other. "I," quoth the drummer, "I have plagued him (or to that purpose), and he shall never be quiet until he hath made me satisfaction for taking away my drum." Upon information of this, the fellow was tried for a witch at Sarum, and all the main circumstances here related were sworn at the assizes by the minister of the parish, and divers others of the most intelligent and substantial inhabitants, who had been eye and ear-witnesses of them, time after time, for several years together.

The fellow was condemned to transportation, and accordingly sent away; but by some means (it is said by raising storms, and affrighting the seamen) he made shift to come back again. And it is observable, that during all the time of his restraint and absence, the house was quiet, but as soon as he was set at liberty the disturbance returned.

He had been a soldier under Cromwell, and used to talk much of gallant books he had of an old fellow, who was accounted a wizard.

This is the sum of Mr. Mompesson's disturbance, partly from his own mouth, related before many persons, who had been witnesses of all, and confirmed his relation; and partly from his own letters, from which the order and series of things is taken. The same particulars he sent also to Dr. Creed, who was at that time Doctor of the Chair in Oxford.

Mr. Mompesson suffered by it in his name, in his estate, in all his affairs, and in the general peace of his family. The unbelievers in spirits and witches took him for an impostor. Many others judged the permission of such an extraordinary evil to be the judgment of God upon him, for some notorious wickedness or impiety. Thus his name was continually exposed to censure, and his estate suffered by the concourse of people from all parts to his house, by the diversion it gave him from his affairs, by the discouragement of servants, by reason of which he could hardly get any to live with him.

The Drummer of Tedworth met with great opposition when first narrated, and several violent controversies took place.—*Signs before Death.*

A HOUSE HAUNTED SOME THIRTY YEARS AGO OR MORE AT OR NEAR BOW, NOT FAR FROM LONDON, AND STRANGELY DISTURBED BY DEMONS AND WITCHES.

A certain gentleman, about thirty years ago or more, being to travel from London into Essex, and to pass through Bow, at the request of a friend he called at a house there, which began then to be a little disquieted. But not anything much remarkable yet, unless of a young girl who was disturbed in her bed, who died within a few days after.

Some weeks after this, his occasions calling him back, he passed by the same house again, but had no design to give them a new visit, he having done that not long before. But it happening that the woman of the house stood at the door, he thought himself engaged to ride to her and ask how she did. To whom she answered with a sorrowful countenance, that though she was in tolerable health, yet things went very ill with them, their house being extremely haunted, especially above stairs, so that they were forced to keep in the low rooms, there was such flinging of things up and down, of stones and bricks through the windows, and putting all in disorder. But he could scarce forbear laughing at her, giving so little credit to such stories himself, and thought it was the tricks only of some unhappy wags to make sport to themselves, and trouble to their neighbours.

Well, says she, if you will but stay a while you may chance to see something with your own eyes. And indeed he had not stayed any considerable time with her in the street, but a window of an upper room opened of itself, (for they of the family took it for granted nobody was above stairs,) and out comes a piece of an old wheel through it. Whereupon it presently clapt to again. A little while after it suddenly flew open again, and out came a brick-bat, which inflamed the gentleman with a more eager desire to see what the matter was, and to discover the knavery. And therefore he boldly resolved if any one would go up with him, he would go into the chamber. But none present durst accompany him. Yet the keen desire of discovering the cheat, made him adventure by himself alone into that

room, into which when he was come, he saw the bedding, chairs and stools, and candlesticks, and bedstaves, and all the furniture rudely scattered on the floor, but upon search found no mortal in the room.

Well, he stays there awhile to try conclusions, anon a bedstaff begins to move, and turn itself round a good while together upon its toe, and at last fairly to lay itself down again. The curious spectator, when he observed it to lie still a while, steps out to it, views it, whether any small string or hair were tied to it, or whether there were any hole or button to fasten any such string to, or any hole or string in the ceiling above; but after search, he found not the least suspicion of any such thing.

He retires to the window again, and observes a little longer what may fall out. Anon, another bedstaff rises off from the ground of its own accord higher into the air, and seems to make towards him. He now begins to think there was something more than ordinary in the business, and presently makes to the door with all speed, and for better caution shuts it after him; which was presently opened again, and such a clatter of chairs, and stools, and candlesticks, and bedstaves, sent after him down stairs, as if they intended to have maimed him, but their motion was so moderated, that he received no harm; but by this time he was abundantly assured, that it was not mere womanish fear or superstition that so affrighted the mistress of the house. And while in a low room he was talking with the family about these things, he saw a tobacco-pipe rise from a side table, nobody being nigh, and fly to the other side of the room, and break itself against the wall, for his farther confirmation, that it was neither the tricks of wags, nor the fancy of a woman, but the mad frolics of witches and demons. Which they of the house being fully persuaded of, roasted a bedstaff, upon which an old woman, a suspected witch, came to the house, and was apprehended, but escaped the law. But the house after was so ill haunted in all the rooms, upper and lower, that the house stood empty for a long time after.—*Glanvil on Witches.*

MR. JERMIN'S STORY OF A HOUSE HAUNTED, AND WHAT DISTURBANCE HIMSELF WAS A WITNESS OF THERE AT A VISIT OF HIS WIFE'S SISTER.

One Mr. Jermin, minister of Bigner in Sussex, going to see a sister of his wife's, found her very melancholy, and asking her the reason, she replied, "You shall know to-morrow morning." When he went to bed, there were two servants accompanied him to his chamber, and the next day he understood that they durst not go into any room in the house alone.

In the night, while he was in his bed, he heard the trampling of many feet upon the leads over his head, and after that the going off of a gun, upon which followed a great silence. Then they came swiftly down stairs into his chamber, where they fell a wrestling, and tumbling each other down, and so continued a great while. After they were quiet, they fell a whispering, and made a great buzz, of which he could understand nothing. Then one called at the door, and said, "Day is broke, come away," upon which they ran up stairs as fast as they could drive, and so he heard no more of them.

In the morning his brother and sister came in to him, and she said, "Now, brother, you know why I am so melancholy:" after she had asked him how he had slept, and he answered, I never rested worse in all my life, having been disturbed a great part of the night with tumblings and noises. She complained that her husband would force her to live there, notwithstanding their being continually scared, whereto the husband answered, their disturbers never did them any other mischief.

At dinner they had a physician with them, who was an acquaintance. Mr. Jermin discoursing about this disturbance, the physician also answered, that never any hurt was done, of which he gave this instance: that dining there one day, there came a man on horseback into the yard, in mourning. His servant went to know what was his business, and found him sitting very melancholy, nor could he get any answer from him. The master of the house and the physician went to see who it was; upon which the man clapped spurs to his horse, and rode into the

house, up stairs into a long gallery, whither the physician followed him, and saw him vanish in a fire at the upper end of the gallery. But though none of the family received hurt at any time, yet Mr. Jermin fell into a fever with the disturbance he experienced, that endangered his life.—*Glanvil on Witches.*

DREAMS.

A REMARKABLE DREAM OF DR. DODDRIDGE;

Preserved by the Rev. Samuel Clarke, and related by him as follows:—

The Doctor and my father had been conversing together one evening on the nature of the separate state, and the probability that the scenes in which the soul would enter, upon its leaving the body, would bear some resemblance to those with which it had been conversant while on earth, that it might by degrees be prepared for the more sublime happiness of the heavenly world. This and other conversation probably gave rise to the following dream:—

The Doctor imagined himself dangerously ill at a friend's house in London, and after lying in this state for some time, he thought his soul left the body, and took its flight in some kind of fine vehicle, which, though very different to the body it had just quitted, was still material. He pursued his course till he was at some distance from the city, when turning back and reviewing the towns, he could not forbear saying to himself, "How trifling and how vain do these affairs, in which the inhabitants of this place are so eagerly employed, appear to me, a separate spirit!" At length, as he was continuing his progress, and though without any certain direction, yet easy and happy in the thoughts of the universal providence and government of God, which extends alike to all states and worlds, he was met by one who told him that he was sent to conduct him to the place appointed for his abode, from which he concluded that he could be no other than an angel, though, as I remember, he appeared under the form of an elderly man. They went accordingly together till they came in sight of a spacious building, which had the air of a palace: upon

inquiring what it was, the guide told him it was the place assigned for his residence at present; upon which the Doctor observed, that he remembered to have read while on earth, that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived what God hath laid up for his servants, whereas he could easily have conceived an idea of such a building as this from others he had seen, though he acknowledged that they were greatly inferior to this in elegance. The answer his guide made him was plainly suggested by the conversation of the evening before; it was, that the scene first presented was contrived on purpose to bear a near resemblance to those he had been accustomed to on earth, that his mind might be more easily and gradually prepared for those glories that would open upon him in eternity, and which would at first have quite dazzled and overpowered him.

By this time they were come up to the palace, and his guide led him through a kind of saloon into the inner parlour. The first remarkable thing he saw, was a golden cup that stood upon the table, on which was embossed a figure of a vine and a cluster of grapes. He asked his guide the meaning of this, who told him, it was the cup in which the Saviour drank new wine with his disciples in his kingdom; and that the figures carved on it were intended to signify the union between Christ and his people, implying that, as the grapes derive all their beauty and flavour from the vine, so the saints, even in a state of glory, were indebted for their establishment and happiness to their union with their Head, in whom they were all complete. While they were thus conversing, he heard a rap at the door, and was informed by the angel, that it was the signal of his Lord's approach, and was intended to prepare him for the interview. Accordingly, in a short time, he thought Our Saviour entered the room, and upon his casting himself at his feet, he graciously raised him up, and with a look of ineffable complacency assured him of his favour, and his kind acceptance of his faithful services; and as a token of his peculiar regard, and the intimate friendship he intended to honour him with, he took the cup, and after drinking of it himself, gave it into his hand. The Doctor would have declined it at first, as too great an honour, but his Lord replied, as to Peter in relation to washing his feet, "If thou drink not

with me, thou hast no part with me." The scene he observed filled him with such a transport of gratitude, love, and admiration, that he was ready to sink under it. His master seemed sensible of it, and told him that he must leave him for the present, but it would not be long before he repeated his visit; and in the meantime he would find enough to employ his thoughts, in reflecting on what had passed and contemplating the objects around him.

As soon as his Lord had retired, and his mind was a little composed, he observed that the room was hung round with pictures, and upon examining them more attentively, he discovered, to his great surprise, that they contained the history of his own life; the most remarkable scenes he had passed through being there represented in a most lively manner. It may easily be imagined how much this would affect his mind:—the many temptations and trials he had been exposed to, and the signal instances of the divine goodness towards him in the different periods of his life, which by this means were at once presented to his view, excited the strongest emotions of gratitude, especially when he reflected that he was now out of the reach of any future distress, and that all the purposes of divine love and mercy towards him were happily accomplished. The ecstasy of joy and thankfulness into which these reflections threw him was so great that it awoke him out of his sleep. But for some considerable time after he arose, the impressions continued so vivid, that tears of joy flowed down his cheeks, and he said that he never, on any occasion, remembered to have felt sentiments of devotion, love, and gratitude equally strong.—*News from the Invisible World.*]

DREAM OF NICHOLAS WOTTON.

In the year of our redemption 1553, Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, being then ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, that, if he was not suddenly prevented, would turn to the loss of his life and ruin of his family. The night following, he dreamed the same again; and knowing that it had no dependence upon his

waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, he did then more seriously consider it; and resolved to use so prudent a remedy (by way of prevention) as might introduce no great inconvenience to either party. And to this end he wrote to the queen, (it was queen Mary,) and besought her, that she would cause his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent, and that the lords of her council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions as might give a colour for his commitment unto a favourable prison; declaring, that he would acquaint her majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see and speak with her majesty. It was done as the dean desired, and Mr. Wotton sent to prison. At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our queen Mary and Philip king of Spain, which divers persons did not only declare against, but raised forces to oppose: of this number Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-abbey in Kent, (betwixt whose family and that of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship,) was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and being defeated and taken prisoner, was arraigned, condemned, and lost his life; so did the duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were then in several places executed as Wyat's assistants: and of this number (in all probability) had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for though he was not ignorant that another man's treason is made his own by concealing it, yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and came to visit him in prison, that he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions; and thought he should not have continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison.

This before-mentioned Thomas Wotton also, a little before his death, dreamed that the university treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars, and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it was worth so much pains as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight enquiry of it. The letter (which was written out of Kent,) came to his son's the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and university were both in

a perplexed inquest after the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton show his father's letter; and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five persons were presently discovered, and apprehended, without putting the university to so much as the casting of a figure.—*Wanley's Wonders of the Little World*, Vol. ii.

CAPTAIN ROGERS, R.N.

In the year 1664, one Captain Thomas Rogers, commander of a ship called the Society, was bound on a voyage from London to Virginia.

The vessel being sent light to Virginia, for a loading of tobacco, had not many goods in her outward-bound.

They had a pretty good passage, and the day before had made an observation, when the mates and officers brought their books and cast up their reckonings with the captain, to see how near they were to the coast of America. They all agreed that they were at least about a hundred leagues from the capes of Virginia. Upon these customary reckonings, and heaving the lead, and finding no ground at an hundred fathoms, they set the watch, and the captain turned into bed.

The weather was good, a moderate gale of wind blew fair for the coast; so that the ship might have run about twelve or fifteen leagues in the night, after the captain was in his cabin.

He fell asleep, and slept very soundly for about three hours, when he waked again, and lay till he heard his second mate turn out, and relieve the watch; he then called his chief mate, as he was going off from the watch, and asked him how all things fared: who answered, that all was well, and the gale freshened, and they ran at a great rate; but it was a fair wind, and a fine clear night: the captain then went to sleep again.

About an hour after he had been asleep again, he dreamed that a man pulled him, and waked him, and bade him turn out and look abroad. He, however, lay still and went to sleep, and was suddenly awakened again, and thus several times; and though he knew not what was the reason, yet he found it impossible to go to sleep; and still he heard the vision say, Turn out and look abroad.

He lay in this uneasiness nearly two hours: but at last it increased so, that he could lie no longer, but got up, put on his watch gown, and came out upon the quarter-deck; there he found his second mate walking about, and the boatswain upon the forecastle, the night being fine and clear, a fair wind, and all well as before.

The mate wondering to see him, at first did not know him; but calling, Who is there? the captain answered, and the mate returned, "Who, the captain! what is the matter, sir?"

The captain said, "I don't know; but I have been very uneasy these two hours, and somebody bade me turn out, and look abroad, though I know not what can be the meaning of it."

"How does the ship cape?" said the captain.

"South-west by south," answered the mate; "fair for the coast, and the wind east by north."

"That is good," said the captain; and after some other questions, he turned about to go back to his cabin, when somebody stood by him and said, "Heave the lead, heave the lead."

Upon this, he turned again to his second mate, saying "When did you heave the lead? what water had you?"

"About an hour ago," replied the mate; "sixty fathom."

"Heave again," said the captain.

"There is no occasion, Sir," said the mate; "but if you please it shall be done."

Accordingly a hand was called, and the lead being cast or heaved, they had ground at eleven fathom.

This surprised them all, but much more when at the next cast, it came up seven fathoms.

Upon this the captain in a fright bade them put the helm a-lee, and about ship, all hands being ordered to back the sails, as is usual in such cases.

The proper orders being obeyed, the ship stayed presently, and came about; and before the sails filled, she had but four fathoms and a half water under her stern; as soon as she filled and stood off, they had seven fathoms again, and at the next cast eleven fathoms, and so on to twenty fathoms; he then stood off to seaward all the rest of the watch, to get into deep water, till day-break, when being a clear morning, the capes of Virginia, and all the

coast of America, were in fair view under their stern, and but a few leagues distant. Had they stood on but one cable's length farther, as they were going, they would have been bump ashore, and certainly lost their ship, if not their lives—*Signs before Death.*

WILLIAM HOWITT'S DREAM, ON HIS VOYAGE TO AUSTRALIA IN 1852.

SOME weeks ago, while yet at sea, I had a dream of being at my brother's at Melbourne, and found his house on a hill at the further end of the town, next to the open forest. His garden sloped a little way down the hill to some brick buildings below: and there were green-houses on the right hand by the wall, as you looked down the hill from the house. As I looked out from the windows in my dream, I saw a wood of dusky-foliaged trees, having a somewhat segregated appearance in their heads; that is, their heads did not make that dense mass like our woods. "There," I said, addressing some one in my dream, "I see your native forest of Eucalyptus!" This dream I told to my sons, and to two of our fellow-passengers, at the time; and on landing, as we walked over the meadows, long before we reached the town, I saw this very wood. "There!" I exclaimed, "is the very wood of my dream. We shall see my brother's house there!" And so we did. It stands exactly as I saw it; only looking newer; but there, over the wall of the garden, is the wood, precisely as I saw it, and now see it, as I sit at the dining-room window, writing. When I look on this scene, I seem to look into my dream.

SIMILAR DREAM OF MR. EDMUND HALLEY.

Mr. Edmund Halley, Fellow of the Royal Society, was carried on with a strong impulse to take a voyage to St. Helena, to make observations of the southern constellations, being then about twenty-four years old. Before he undertook the voyage, he dreamed that he was at sea sailing toward that place, and saw the prospect of it from the ship in his dream; which he declared in the Royal Society was a perfect representation of that island, as it really appeared to him when he approached it.—*Nocturnal Revels.*

SINGULAR DREAM.

The "Durham Herald," of December 1848, gives an account of the disappearance of Mr. Smith, gardener to Sir Clifford Constable, who, it was supposed, had fallen into the river Tees, his hat and stick having been found near the waterside. The river had been dragged daily; but every effort so made to find the body proved ineffectual. On the night of Thursday, however, a person named Awde, residing at Little Newsham, a small village about four miles from Wycliff, dreamt that Smith was laid under the ledge of a certain rock, about three hundred yards below Whorlton Bridge, and that his right arm was broken. Awde got up early on Friday, and his dream had such an effect upon him that he determined to go and search the river. He accordingly started off for that purpose, without mentioning the matter, being afraid that he would be laughed at by his neighbours. Nevertheless, on his arriving at the boat-house, he disclosed his object upon the man asking him for what purpose he required the boat. He rowed to the spot which he had seen in his dream; and there, strange to say, upon the very first trial that he made with his boat-hook, he pulled up the body of the unfortunate man, with his right arm actually broken.

REMARKABLE DREAM BY THE REV. JOSEPH WILKINS.

The late Rev. Joseph Wilkins, dissenting minister at Weymouth, dreamt in the early part of his life a very remarkable dream, which he carefully preserved in writing as follows:—One night, soon after I was in bed, I fell asleep, and dreamt I was going to London. I thought it would not be much out of my way to go through Gloucestershire, and call upon my friends there. Accordingly I set out; but remembered nothing that happened by the way till I came to my father's house; when I went to the front-door, and tried to open it, but found it fast; then I went to the back-door, which I opened, and went in; but finding all the family were in bed, I went across the rooms only, went up stairs, and entered the chamber where my father and mother were in bed. As I approached the side of the bed on which my

father lay, I found him asleep, or thought he was so: then I went to the other side, and having just turned the foot of the bed, I found my mother awake; to whom I said these words: "Mother, I am going a long journey, and am come to bid you good bye;" upon which she answered me in a fright, "O, dear son, thou art dead!" With this I awoke, and took no notice of it, more than a common dream; except that it appeared to me very perfect.

In a few days after, as soon as a letter could reach me, I received one by post from my father, upon the receipt of which I was a little surprised, and concluded something extraordinary must have happened, as it was but a short time before I had a letter from my friends, and all were well. Upon opening it, I was more surprised still, for my father addressed me as though I were dead, desiring me, if alive, or that person into whose hands the letter might fall, to write immediately; but if the letter should find me living, they concluded I should not live long, and gave this as the reason of their fear,—That on a certain night, naming it, after they were in bed, my father asleep, and my mother awake, she heard some one trying to open the front-door, but finding it fast, he appeared to go to the back-door, which he opened, then entered, and came directly through the rooms up stairs, and she perfectly knew it to be my step; that I came to her bed-side, and spoke to her these words: "Mother, I am going a long journey, and am come to bid you good bye:" upon which she answered me in a fright, "O, dear son, thou art dead!" which were the very circumstances and words of my dream, but she heard nothing more, and saw nothing; neither did I in my dream.

Upon this she awoke and told my father what had passed; but he endeavoured to appease her, persuading her it was only a dream: she insisted it was no dream, for that she was as perfectly awake as ever she was, and had not the least inclination to sleep since she had been in bed. From these circumstances I am apt to think it was at the very same instant when my dream happened, though the distance between us was about one hundred miles; but of this I cannot speak positively. This occurred while I was at the academy at Ottery, Devon, in the year 1754, and, at this moment, every circumstance is fresh in my mind. I have

since had frequent opportunities of talking over the affair with my mother, and the whole was as fresh in her mind as it was in mine. I have often thought, that her sensations, as to this matter, were stronger than mine. What may appear strange is, that I cannot remember anything remarkable happening hereupon. This is only a plain simple narrative of a matter of fact.

Mr. Wilkins died November 15th, 1800, in the seventieth year of his age.—*Signs before Death.*

LORD LYTTLETON.

The subject of this narrative was the son of George Lord Lyttleton, who was alike distinguished for the raciness of his wit and the profligacy of his manners. The latter trait of his character has induced many persons to suppose the apparition which he asserted he had seen, to have been the effect of a conscience quickened with remorse for innumerable vices and shortcomings. The probability of the narrative consequently has been much questioned; but in our own acquaintance we chance to know two gentlemen, one of whom was at Pitt Place, the seat of Lord Lyttleton, and the other in the immediate neighbourhood, at the time of his lordship's death, and who bear ample testimony to the veracity of the whole affair.

The several narratives correspond in material points; and we shall now proceed to relate the most circumstantial particulars written by a gentleman who was on a visit to his lordship:—

"I was at Pitt Place, Epsom, when Lord Lyttleton died; Lord Fortescue, Lady Flood, and the two Miss Amphletts, were also present. Lord Lyttleton had not been long returned from Ireland, and frequently had been seized with suffocating fits: he was attacked several times by them in the course of the preceding month, while he was at his house in Hill Street, Berkeley Square. It happened that he dreamt, three days before his death, that he saw a fluttering bird; and afterwards that a woman appeared to him in white apparel, and said to him 'Prepare to die, you will not exist three days.' His lordship was much alarmed, and called to a servant from a closet adjoining, who found him much agitated, and in a profuse

perspiration: the circumstance had a considerable effect all the next day on his lordship's spirits. On the third day, while his lordship was at breakfast with the above personages, he said, 'If I live over to-night, I shall have jockied the ghost, for this is the third day.' The whole party presently set off for Pitt Place, where they had not long arrived, before his lordship was visited by one of his accustomed fits: after a short interval, he recovered. He dined at five o'clock that day, and went to bed at eleven, when his servant was about to give him rhubarb and mint-water; but his lordship, perceiving him stir it with a tooth-pick, called him a slovenly dog, and bid him go and fetch a teaspoon; but, on the man's return, he found his master in a fit, and the pillow being placed high, his chin bore hard upon his neck, and the servant, instead of relieving his lordship, on the instant, from his perilous situation, ran, in his fright, and called out for help, but on his return he found his lordship dead."

In explanation of this strange tale, it is said that Lord Lyttleton acknowledged, previously to his death, that the woman he had seen in his dream was the mother of the two Miss Amphletts, mentioned above, whom, together with a third sister, then in Ireland, his lordship had seduced, and prevailed on to leave their parents, who resided near his country residence in Shropshire. It is further stated, that Mrs. Amphlett died of grief, through the desertion of her children, at the precise time when the female vision appeared to his lordship; and that, about the period of his own dissolution, a personage answering his description visited the bed-side of the late Miles Peter Andrews, Esq., (who had been the friend and companion of Lord Lyttleton in his revels,) and suddenly throwing open the curtains, desired Mr. Andrews to come to him. The latter not knowing that his lordship had returned from Ireland, suddenly got up, when the phantom disappeared! Mr. Andrews frequently declared, that the alarm caused him to have a short fit of illness; and, in his subsequent visits to Pitt Place, no solicitations could ever prevail on him to take a bed there; but he would invariably return, however late, to the Spread Eagle Inn, at Epsom, for the night.

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, in his Memoirs, has the following passage:—

"Dining at Pitt Place, about four years after the death of Lord Lyttleton, in the year 1783, I had the curiosity to visit the bedchamber, where the casement window, at which Lord Lyttleton asserted the dove appeared to flutter, was pointed out to me; and, at his stepmother's, the dowager Lady Lyttleton's, in Portugal Street, Grosvenor Square, I have frequently seen a painting which she herself executed, in 1780, expressly to commemorate the event: it hung in a conspicuous part of the drawing-room. There the dove appears at the window, while a female figure, habited in white, stands at the foot of the bed, announcing to Lord Lyttleton his dissolution. Every part of the picture was faithfully designed, after the description given to her by the valet-de-chambre who attended him, to whom his master related all the circumstances."

An engraving, copied from the picture, has been published, and is still frequently to be met with in the collections of printsellers.—*Signs before Death.*

DREAM OF A GENTLEMAN AT PRAGUE.

"Whilst I lived at Prague," saith an English gentleman, "and one night had sat up very late, drinking at a feast; early in the morning the sunbeams glancing on my face as I lay on my bed, I dreamed that a shadow passing by told me that my father was dead: at which awakening all in a sweat, and affected with this dream, I rose and wrote the day and hour, and all circumstances thereof, in a paper book; which book, with many other things, I put into a barrel, and sent it from Prague to Stode, thence to be conveyed into England. And now being at Nuremberg, a merchant of a noble family, well acquainted with me and my relations, arrived there; who told me that my father died some months past. When I returned into England four years after, I would not open the barrel I sent from Prague, nor look into the paper book in which I had written this dream, till I had called my sisters, and some other

friends, to be witnesses: where myself and they were astonished to see my written dream answer the very day of my father's death."

The same gentleman saith thus also. "I may lawfully swear, that in my youth at Cambridge I had the like dream of my mother's death: where my brother Henry lying with me, early in the morning I dreamed that my mother passed by with a sad countenance, and told me 'that she could not come to my commencement,' (I being within five months to proceed Master of Arts, and she having promised at that time to come to Cambridge): when I related this dream to my brother, both of us awaking together in a sweat, he protested to me that he had dreamed the very same: and when we had not the least knowledge of our mother's sickness, neither in our youthful affections were any whit moved with the strangeness of this dream, yet the next carrier brought us word of our mother's death."—*Wanley's Wonders.*

SECOND SIGHT.

INSTANCES OF SECOND SIGHT.

A man in Knockow, in the parish of St. Maries, the northernmost in Skie, being in perfect health, and sitting with his fellow-servants at night, was on a sudden taken ill, dropped from his seat backward, and then fell a-vomiting; at which all the family were much concerned, he having never been subject to the like before: but he came to himself soon after, and had no sort of pain about him. One of the family, who was accustomed to see the second sight, told them that the man's illness proceeded from a very strange cause, which was thus: An ill-natured woman (naming her by her name), who lives in the next adjacent village of Bornskittag, came before him in a very furious and angry manner, her countenance full of passion, and her mouth full of reproaches, and threatened him with her head and hands, until he fell over as you have seen him. This woman had a fancy for the man, but was like to meet with a disappointment as to his marrying her. This instance was told me

by the master of the family, and others who were present when it happened.

Mr. M'Pherson's servant foretold that a kiln should take fire, and being some time after reproved by his master for talking so foolishly of the second sight, he answered that he could not help his seeing such things as presented themselves to his view in a very lively manner; adding further, I have just now seen that boy sitting by the fire with his face red, as if the blood had been running down his forehead, and I could not avoid seeing this: and as for the accomplishment of it within forty-eight hours, there is no doubt, says he, it having appeared in the day-time. The minister became very angry at his man, and charged him never to speak one word more of the second sight, or if he could not hold his tongue, to provide himself another master; telling him he was an unhappy fellow, who studied to abuse credulous people with false predictions. There was no more said on this subject until the next day, that the boy of whom the seer spoke, came in, having his face all covered with blood; which happened by his falling on a heap of stones. This account was given me by the minister and others of his family.

Some of the inhabitants of Harries sailing round the Isle of Skie, with a design to go to the opposite main land, were strangely surprised with an apparition of two men hanging down by the ropes that secured the mast, but could not conjecture what it meant. They pursued the voyage, but the wind turned contrary, and so forced them into Broadford in the Isle of Skie, where they found Sir Donald M'Donald keeping a sheriffs' court, and two criminals receiving sentence of death there: the ropes and mast of that very boat were made use of to hang those criminals upon. This was told me by several who had this instance from the boat's crew.

One who had been accustomed to see the second sight, in the Isle of Egg, which lies about three or four leagues to the south-west part of the Isle of Skie, told his neighbours that he had frequently seen an apparition of a man in a red coat lined with blue, and having on his head a strange sort of blue cap, with a very high cock on the fore-part of it, and that the man who there appeared was kissing a comely maid in the village where the seer dwelt; and therefore declared

that a man in such a dress would certainly be connected with such a young woman. This unusual vision did much expose the seer to ridicule, for all the inhabitants treated him as a fool, though he had on several other occasions foretold things that afterwards were accomplished; this they thought one of the most unlikely things to be accomplished, that could have entered into any man's head. This story was then discoursed of in the Isle of Skie, and all that heard it laughed at it; it being a rarity to see any foreigner in Egg, and the young woman had no thoughts of going anywhere else. This story was told me at Edinburgh, by Normand M'Leod of Graban, in September 1688, he being just then come from the Isle of Skie; and there were present, the laird of M'Leod, and Mr. Alexander M'Leod Advocate, and others.

About a year and a half after the late revolution, Major Ferguson, now colonel of one of her Majesty's regiments of foot, was then sent by the government with six hundred men, and some frigates, to reduce the islanders that had appeared for King James and perhaps the small Isle of Egg had never been regarded, though some of the inhabitants had been at the battle of Kelicranky, but by a mere accident, which determined Major Ferguson to go to the Isle of Egg, which was this: A boat's crew of the Isle of Egg happened to be in the Isle of Skie, and killed one of Major Ferguson's soldiers there; upon notice of which, the Major directed his course to the Isle of Egg, where he was sufficiently revenged of the natives: and at the same time, the maid above mentioned being very handsome, was then forcibly carried on board one of the vessels, by some of the soldiers, where she was kept about twenty-four hours, and ill-used, and brutishly robbed at the same time of her fine head of hair. She is since married in the Isle, and in good reputation; her misfortune being pitied, and not reckoned her crime.—*Martin's Western Islands of Scotland.*

CIRCUMSTANCE RELATED BY REV. J. GRIFFITHS.

The following remarkable circumstance is related of the late Rev. John Griffiths, of Glandwr, Carmarthenshire, whose literary attainments were well known and most highly

appreciated in South Wales. Until it occurred he was a disbeliever in corpse candles and spectral funerals, and whenever an opportunity presented itself, always declaimed against the belief of those things, both in chapels and other places; but returning home on horseback one night through a narrow lane, his mare suddenly started; not perceiving any thing he urged her on, when to his astonishment she reared aside as if frightened, but as he still could not see anything, he dashed the spur in her side, which he had no sooner done than she leaped over the hedge into a field; much surprised at this, he dismounted and led her into the road, and thinking if his optical could not, his auricular nerves might discover the cause, he stopped and listened, when he distinctly heard footsteps treading, as if a funeral passed: wishing to know where they would proceed to, he followed the sounds to his own chapel, where they ceased at a certain part of the burial ground attached to it; and he related that in the course of a week after this, a person was buried near the spot where the steps had ceased to be heard: after this, he discontinued ridiculing the credence given to the supernatural lights, &c.—*Howell's Cambrian Superstitions.*

ZSCHOKKE.

Zschokke writes thus of his singular gift of second sight:—

"If the reception of so many visitors was troublesome, it repaid itself occasionally either by making me acquainted with remarkable personages, or by bringing out a wonderful sort of seer-gift, which I called my inward vision, and which has always remained an enigma to me. I am almost afraid to say a word upon this subject; not for fear of the imputation of being superstitious, but lest I should encourage that disposition in others; and yet it forms a contribution to psychology. So to confess.

"It is acknowledged that the judgment which we form of strangers, on first meeting them, is frequently more correct than that which we adopt upon a longer acquaintance with them. The first impression which, through an instinct of the soul, attracts one towards, or repels one from another, becomes, after a time, more dim, and is weakened, either through his appearing other than at first, or through our becoming accustomed to him. People speak, too, in reference

to such cases of involuntary sympathies and aversions, and attach a special certainty to such manifestations in children, in whom knowledge of mankind by experience is wanting. Others, again, are incredulous, and, attribute all to physiognomical skill. But of myself.

"It has happened to me occasionally, at the first meeting with a total stranger, when I have been listening in silence to his conversation, that his past life, up to the present moment, with many minute circumstances belonging to one or other particular scene in it, has come across me like a dream, but distinctly, entirely, involuntarily, and unsought, occupying in duration a few minutes. During this period I am usually so plunged into the representation of the stranger's life, that at last I neither continue to see distinctly his face, on which I was idly speculating, nor to hear intelligently his voice, which at first I was using as a commentary to the text of his physiognomy. For a long time, I was disposed to consider these fleeting visions as a trick of the fancy; the more so that my dream-vision displayed to me the dress and movements of the actors, the appearance of the room, the furniture, and other accidents of the scene; till, on one occasion, in a gamesome mood, I narrated to my family the secret history of a sempstress who had just before quitted the room. I had never seen the person before. Nevertheless the hearers were astonished, and laughed, and would not be persuaded but that I had a previous acquaintance with the former life of the person, inasmuch as what I had stated was perfectly true. I was not less astonished to find that my dream-vision agreed with reality. I then gave more attention to the subject, and, as often as propriety allowed of it, I related to those whose lives had so passed before me the substance of my dream-vision, to obtain from them its contradiction or confirmation. On every occasion its confirmation followed, not without amazement on the part of those who gave it.

"Least of all could I myself give faith to these conjuring tricks of my mind. Every time that I described to any one my dream-vision respecting him, I confidently expected him to answer it was not so. A secret thrill always came over me when the listener replied, 'It happened as you say;' or when, before he spoke, his astonishment betrayed that I

was not wrong. Instead of recording many instances, I will give one which, at the time, made a strong impression upon me.

"On a fair day, I went into the town of Waldshut accompanied by two young foresters who are still alive. It was evening, and, tired with our walk, we went into an inn called the Vine. We took our supper with a numerous company at the public table; when it happened that they made themselves merry over the peculiarities and simplicity of the Swiss, in connection with the belief in Mesmerism, Lavater's physiognomical system, and the like. One of my companions, whose national pride was touched by their raillery, begged me to make some reply, particularly in answer to a young man of superior appearance, who sat opposite, and had indulged in unrestrained ridicule. It happened that the events of this very person's life had just previously passed before my mind. I turned to him with the question, whether he would reply to me with truth and candour, if I narrated to him the most secret passages of his history, he being as little known to me as I to him? That would, I suggested, go something beyond Lavater's physiognomical skill. He promised, if I told the truth, to admit it openly. Then I narrated the events with which my dream-vision had furnished me, and the table learnt the history of the young tradesman's life, of his school years, his peccadilloes, and, finally, of a little act of roguery committed by him on the strong box of his employer. I described the uninhabited room with its white walls, where, to the right of the brown door, there had stood upon the table the small black money-chest, &c. A dead silence reigned in the company during this recital, interrupted only when I occasionally asked if I spoke the truth. The man, much struck, admitted the correctness of each circumstance—even, which I could not expect, of the last. Touched with his frankness, I reached my hand to him across the table, and closed my narrative. He asked my name, which I gave him. We sat up late in the night conversing. He may be alive yet.

"Now I can well imagine how a lively imagination could picture, romance-fashion, from the obvious character of a person, how he would conduct himself under given circumstances. But whence came to me the involuntary knowledge of accessory details, which were without any

sort of interest, and respected people who for the most part were utterly indifferent to me, with whom I neither had, nor wished to have, the slightest association? Or was it in each case mere coincidence? Or had the listener, to whom I described his history, each time other images in his mind than the accessory ones of my story, but, in surprise at the essential resemblance of my story to the truth, lost sight of the points of difference? Yet I have, in consideration of this possible source of error, several times taken pains to describe the most trivial circumstances that my dream-vision has shown me.

"Not another word about this strange seer-gift, which I can aver was of no use to me in a single instance, which manifested itself occasionally only, and quite independently of any volition, and often in relation to persons in whose history I took not the slightest interest. Nor am I the only one in possession of this faculty. In a journey with two of my sons, I fell in with an old Tyrolese who travelled about selling lemons and oranges, at the inn at Unterhauerstein in one of the Jura passes. He fixed his eyes for some time upon me, joined in our conversation, observed that though I did not know him he knew me, and began to describe my acts and deeds to the no little amusement of the peasants and astonishment of my children, whom it interested to learn that another possessed the same gift as their father. How the old lemon-merchant acquired his knowledge, he was not able to explain to himself nor to me. But he seemed to attach great importance to his hidden wisdom." —*Mayo's Truths in Popular Superstitions.*

OCCURRENCE IN THE FAMILY OF DR. FERRIER.

A gentleman connected with the family of Dr. Ferrier, an officer in the army, was quartered early in life, in the middle of the eighteenth century, near the castle of a gentleman in the north of [Scotland, who was supposed to possess the second sight. Strange rumours were afloat respecting the old chieftain, and that he had spoken to an apparition which ran along the battlements of the house, and had never been cheerful afterwards. His prophetic vision excited surprise, which was favoured by his retired habits. One day, whilst Dr. Ferrier's friend was reading a play to the ladies of this

family, the chief, who had been walking across the room, stopped suddenly and assumed the look of a seer: he rang the bell, and ordered the groom to saddle a horse, to proceed immediately to a seat in the neighbourhood, and to inquire after the health of Lady ——; if the account were favourable, he then directed him to call at another castle, to ask after another lady whom he named. The reader immediately closed his book, and declared that he would not proceed till these abrupt orders were explained, as he was confident they were produced by the second sight. The chief was very unwilling to explain himself, but at length he owned that the door had appeared to open, and that a little woman, without a head, had entered the room; that the apparition indicated the sudden death of some person of his acquaintance, and the only two persons who resembled the figure were those ladies after whose health he had sent to inquire.

A few hours afterwards, the servant returned with an account that one of the ladies had died of an apoplectic fit, about the time when the vision appeared.—*Signs before Death.*

TRANCE AND SOMNAMBULISM.

TRANCE OF THE REV. W. TENNANT.

After a regular course of study in theology, Mr. Tennant was preparing for his examination by the presbytery, as a candidate for the Gospel ministry. His intense application affected his health, and brought on a pain in his breast, and a slight hectic. He soon became emaciated, and at length was like a living skeleton. His life was now threatened. He was attended by a physician, a young man who was attached to him by the strictest and warmest friendship. He grew worse and worse, until little hope of his life was left. In this situation his spirits failed him, and he began to entertain doubts of his final happiness. He was conversing one morning with his brother, in Latin, on the

state of his soul, when he fainted and died away. At the usual time he was laid out on a board, according to the common practice of the country, and the neighbourhood were invited to attend his funeral the next day. In the evening his physician and friend returned from a ride in the country, and was afflicted beyond measure at the news of his death. He could not be persuaded that it was certain; and on being told that one of the persons who had assisted in laying out the body thought he had observed a little tremor of the flesh under the arm, although the body was cold and stiff, he endeavoured to ascertain the fact. He first put his own hand into warm water, to make it as sensitive as possible, and then felt under the arm, and at the heart, and affirmed that he felt an unusual warmth, though no one else could. He had the body restored to a warm bed, and insisted that the people who had been invited to the funeral should be requested not to attend. To this the brother objected, as absurd, the eyes being sunk, the lips discoloured, and the whole body cold and stiff. However, the doctor finally prevailed, and all probable means were used to discover symptoms of returning life. But the third day arrived, and no hopes were entertained of success but by the doctor, who never left him, night nor day. The people were again invited and assembled to attend the funeral. The doctor still objected; and at last confined his request for delay to one hour, then to half an hour, and finally to a quarter of an hour. He had discovered that the tongue was much swollen, and threatened to crack. He was endeavouring to soften it by some emollient ointment put upon a feather, when the brother came in about the expiration of the last period, and mistaking what the doctor was doing for an attempt to feed him, manifested some impatience, thinking it foolish to feed a lifeless corpse, and insisted that the funeral should proceed.

At this critical and important moment, the body, to the great alarm and astonishment of all present, opened its eyes, gave a deep groan, and sunk again into apparent death. This put an end to all thoughts of burying him; and every effort was again employed in hopes of bringing about a speedy resuscitation. In about an hour the eyes again opened, a heavy groan proceeded from the body, and

again all appearance of animation vanished. In another hour life seemed to return with more power, and a complete revival took place, to the great joy of the family and friends, and to the no small astonishment and conviction of very many who had ridiculed the idea of restoring a dead body to life.

Mr. Tennant continued in so weak and low a state for six weeks that great doubts were entertained of his final recovery. However, after that period he recovered much faster. It was about twelve months before he was completely restored. After he was able to walk about the room, and to take notice of what passed around him, his sister, on a Sunday afternoon, having staid at home to attend him, was reading in the Bible, when he took notice of it, and asked her what she had in her hand. She answered that it was the Bible. He replied—"What is the Bible? I know not what you mean." This affected the sister so much, that she burst into tears, and informed him that he was once well acquainted with it. On her reporting this to her brother when he returned, Mr. Tennant was found upon examination to be totally ignorant of every transaction of his life previous to his sickness. He could not read a single word, neither did he seem to have any idea what it meant. As soon as he was capable of attention, he was taught to read and write, as children are usually taught, and afterwards began to learn the Latin language, under the tuition of his brother. One day as he was reciting a lesson in Cornelius Nepos, he suddenly started, clapped his hand to his head, as if something had hurt him, and made a pause. His brother asking him what was the matter, he said that he felt a sudden shock in his head, and it now seemed to him as if he had read the book before.

By degrees his recollection was restored, and he could speak Latin as fluently as before his illness. His memory so completely revived, that he gained a perfect knowledge of the past transactions of his life, as if no difficulty had previously occurred.

This event at the time made considerable noise, and afforded not only matter of serious contemplation to the devout Christian, especially when connected with what follows in this narrative, but furnished a subject of deep

investigation and learned inquiry to the real philosopher and curious anatomist.

The writer of these memoirs was greatly interested by these uncommon events, and on a favourable occasion earnestly pressed Mr. Tennant for a minute account of what his views and apprehensions were while he lay in this extraordinary state of suspended animation. He discovered great reluctance to enter into any explanation of his perceptions and feelings at this time; and being importunately urged to do it, at length consented, and proceeded with a solemnity not to be described.

"While I was conversing with my brother," said he, "on the state of my soul, and the fears I had entertained for my future welfare, I found myself in an instant in another state of existence, under the direction of a superior being, who ordered me to follow him. I was accordingly wafted along, I knew not how, till I beheld at a distance an ineffable glory, the impression of which on my mind it is impossible to communicate to mortal man. I immediately reflected on my happy change, and thought, 'well! blessed be God, I am safe at last, notwithstanding all my fears.' I saw an innumerable host of happy beings surrounding the inexpressible glory, in acts of adoration and joyous worship; but I did not see any bodily shape or representation in the glorious appearance. I heard things unutterable. I heard their songs and hallelujahs of thanksgiving and praise with unspeakable rapture. I felt joy unutterable, and full of glory. I then applied to my conductor, and requested leave to join the happy throng; on which he tapped me on the shoulder, and said, 'You must return to the earth.' This seemed like a sword through my heart. In an instant I recollected to have seen my brother standing disputing with the doctor. The three days during which I had appeared lifeless seemed to me not more than ten or twenty minutes. The idea of returning to this world of sorrow and trouble gave me such a shock that I repeatedly fainted." He added:—"Such was the effect on my mind of what I had seen and heard, that if it be possible for a human being to live entirely above the world and the things of it for some time afterwards, I was that person. The ravishing sound of the songs and hallelujahs that I

heard was never out of my ears, when awake, for three years. All the kingdoms of the earth were in my sight as nothing but vanity; and so great were my ideas of heavenly glory, that nothing which did not in some measure relate to it could command my serious attention."

It is not surprising that after so affecting an account, strong solicitude should have been felt for further information as to the words, or at least the subjects, of praise and adoration which Mr. Tennant had heard. But when he was requested to communicate these, he gave a decided negative, adding:—"You will know them, with many other particulars, hereafter, as you will find the whole among my papers;" alluding to his intention of leaving the writer hereof his executor, which precluded any further solicitation.

It was so ordered, however, in the course of Divine Providence, that the writer was sorely disappointed in his expectation of obtaining the papers here alluded to. Mr. Tennant's death happened during the revolutionary war, when the enemy separated the writer from him, so as to render it impossible to attend him on his dying bed; and before it was possible to get to his house after his death, the writer being with the American army at the Valley-Forge, his son came from Charleston and took his mother and his father's papers and property, and returned to Carolina. About fifty miles from Charleston the son was suddenly taken sick, and died among entire strangers; and never since, though the writer was left executor to the son, could any trace of the father's papers be discovered by him.—*Philadelphia Evangelical Intelligencer.*

THE ROCHESTER APPARITION.

The following narrative was communicated in a letter from Mr. Thomas Tilson, minister of Aylesworth, in Kent, to Mr. Baxter, as a contribution to his celebrated work, "The Certainty of the World of Spirits."

Rev. Sir,—Being informed that you are writing about spectres and apparitions, I take the freedom, though a stranger, to send you the following relation:—

Mary, the wife of John Goffe, of Rochester, being afflicted with a long illness, removed to her father's house at West-Mulling, which is about nine miles distant from her own; there she died, June the 4th, 1691.

The day before her departure, she grew impatiently desirous to see her two children, whom she had left at home to the care of a nurse. She prayed her husband to hire a horse, for she must go home, and die with her children. When they persuaded her to the contrary, telling her she was not fit to be taken out of her bed, nor able to sit on horseback, she intreated them however to try: "If I cannot sit," said she, "I will lie all along upon the horse, for I must go to see my poor babes."

A minister who lives in the town was with her at ten o'clock that night, to whom she expressed good hopes in the mercies of God, and a willingness to die; "but," said she, "it is my misery that I cannot see my children."

Between one and two o'clock in the morning, she fell into a trance. One Widow Turner, who watched with her that night, says, that her eyes were open and fixed, and her jaw fallen: she put her hand upon her mouth and nostrils, but could perceive no breath; she thought her to be in a fit, and doubted whether she were alive or dead.

The next day, this dying woman told her mother that she had been at home with her children. "That is impossible," said the mother, "for you have been here in bed all the while." "Yes," replied the other, "but I was with them last night when I was asleep."

The nurse at Rochester, Widow Alexander by name, affirms, and says she will take her oath of it before a magistrate, and receive the sacrament upon it, that a little before two o'clock that morning she saw the likeness of the said Mary Goffe come out of the next chamber (where the elder child lay in a bed by itself, the door being left open), and stood by her bed-side for about a quarter of an hour; the younger child was there lying by her; her eyes moved, and her mouth went, but she said nothing. The nurse, moreover, says, that she was perfectly awake; it was then daylight, being one of the longest days in the year. She sat up in her bed, and looked steadfastly upon the apparition; in that time she heard the bridge clock strike two, and a while

after, said, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what art thou?" Thereupon the appearance removed and went away; she slipped on her clothes and followed, but what became of it she cannot tell. Then, and not before, she began to be grievously affrighted, and went out of doors and walked upon the wharf (the house is just by the river side) for some hours, only going in now and then to look at the children. At five o'clock she went to a neighbour's house, and knocked at the door, but they would not rise; at six she went again, then they rose and let her in. She related to them all that had passed: they would persuade her she was mistaken, or dreamt; but she confidently affirmed, "If ever I saw her in all my life, I saw her this night."

One of those to whom she made the relation, Mary, the wife of Mr. J. Sweet, had a messenger who came from Mulling that forenoon, to let her know her neighbour Goffe was dying, and desired to speak with her; she went over the same day, and found her just departing. The mother, amongst other discourse, related to her how much her daughter had longed to see her children, and said she had seen them. This brought to Mrs. Sweet's mind what the nurse had told her that morning; for, till then, she had not thought fit to mention it, but disguised it rather as the woman's disturbed imagination.

The substance of this I had related to me by John Carpenter, the father of the deceased, next day after the burial. July 2, I fully discoursed the matter with the nurse and two neighbours, to whose house she went that morning.

Two days after, I had it from the mother, the minister that was with her in the evening, and the woman who sat up with her that last night: they all agree in the same story, and every one helps to strengthen the other's testimony.

They all appear to be sober, intelligent persons, far enough from designing to impose a cheat upon the world, or to manage a lie, and what temptation they should be under for so doing, I cannot conceive.

Your most faithful friend and humble servant,

THOMAS TILSON.

—*Signs before Death.*

REPLIES TO DR. BRAID'S QUERIES REGARDING THE FAKEER WHO BURIED HIMSELF ALIVE AT LAHORE IN 1837.

I was present [says Sir Claude Wade] at the Court of Runjeet Singh when the Fakeer mentioned by the Honourable Captain Osborne was buried alive for six weeks; and, although I arrived a few hours after his actual interment, and did not, consequently, witness that part of the phenomenon, I had the testimony of Runjeet Singh himself, and others the most credible witnesses of his Court, to the truth of the Fakeer having been so buried before them; and, from my having myself been present when he was disinterred, and restored to a state of perfect vitality, in a position so close to him as to render any deception impossible, it is my firm belief that there was no collusion in producing the extraordinary fact which I have related. Captain Osborne's book is not at present before me, that I might refer to such parts of his account as devolve the authenticity of the fact on my authority. I will therefore briefly state what I saw, to enable others to judge of the weight due to my evidence, and whether any proofs of collusion can, in their opinion, be detected.

On the approach of the appointed time, according to invitation, I accompanied Runjeet Singh to the spot where the Fakeer had been buried. It was in a square building, called a *barra durra*, in the middle of one of the gardens adjoining the palace at Lahore, with an open verandah all round, having an enclosed room in the centre. On arriving there, Runjeet Singh, who was attended on the occasion by the whole of his Court, dismounting from his elephant, asked me to join him in examining the building to satisfy himself that it was closed as he had left it. We did so; there had been a door on each of the four sides of the room, three of which were perfectly closed with brick and mortar, the fourth had a strong door, which was also closed with mud up to the padlock, which was sealed with the private seal of Runjeet Singh in his own presence when the Fakeer was interred. Indeed, the exterior of the building presented no aperture by which air could be ad-

mitted, or any communication held by which food could be conveyed to the Fakeer. I may also add, that the walls closing the doorway bore no mark whatever of having been recently disturbed or removed.

Runjeet Singh recognised the seal as the one which he had affixed, and as he was as sceptical as any European could be of the success of such an enterprise,—to guard as far as possible against any collusion,—he had placed two companies from his own personal escort near the building, from which four sentries were furnished and relieved every two hours, night and day, to guard the building from intrusion. At the same time, he ordered one of the principal officers of his Court to visit the place occasionally, and to report the result of his inspection to him, while he himself, or his minister, kept the seal which closed the hole of the padlock, and the latter received the report, morning and evening, from the officer on guard.

After our examination we seated ourselves in the verandah opposite the door, while some of Runjeet Singh's people dug away the mud wall, and one of his officers broke the seal and opened the padlock. When the door was thrown open, nothing but a dark room was to be seen. Runjeet Singh and myself then entered it, in company with the servant of the Fakeer; and a light being brought, we descended about three feet below the floor of the room into a sort of cell, where a wooden box, about four feet long by three broad, with a sloping roof, containing the Fakeer, was placed upright, the door of which had also a padlock and seal similar to that on the outside. On opening it, we saw a figure enclosed in a bag of white linen, fastened by a string over the head—on the exposure of which a grand salute was fired, and the surrounding multitude came crowding to the door to see the spectacle. After they had gratified their curiosity, the Fakeer's servant, putting his arms into the box, took the figure out, and closing the door, placed it with its back against it, exactly as the Fakeer had been squatted (like a Hindoo idol) in the box itself.

Runjeet Singh and myself then descended into the cell, which was so small that we were only able to sit on the

ground in front of the body, and so close to it as to touch it with our hands and knees.

The servant then began pouring warm water over the figure; but, as my object was to see if any fraudulent practices could be detected, I proposed to Runjeet Singh to tear open the bag and have a perfect view of the body before any means of resuscitation were employed. I accordingly did so; and may here remark, that the bag when first seen by us looked mildewed, as if it had been buried some time. The legs and arms of the body were shrivelled and stiff, the face full, the head reclining on the shoulder like that of a corpse. I then called to the medical gentleman who was attending me to come down and inspect the body, which he did, but could discover no pulsation in the heart, the temples, or the arm. There was, however, a heat about the region of the brain, which no other part of the body exhibited.

The servant then recommenced bathing him with hot water, and gradually relaxing his arms and legs from the rigid state in which they were contracted, Runjeet Singh taking his right and I his left leg, to aid by friction in restoring them to their proper action; during which time the servant placed a hot wheaten cake, about an inch thick, on the top of the head,—a process which he twice or thrice renewed. He then pulled out of his nostrils and ears the wax and cotton with which they were stopped; and after great exertion opened his mouth by inserting the point of a knife between his teeth, and, while holding his jaws open with his left hand, drew the tongue forward with his right,—in the course of which the tongue flew back several times to its curved position upwards, in which it had originally been, so as to close the gullet.

He then rubbed his eyelids with ghee (or clarified butter) for some seconds, until he succeeded in opening them, when the eyes appeared quite motionless and glazed. After the cake had been applied for the third time to the top of his head, the body was violently convulsed, the nostrils became inflated, respiration ensued, and the limbs began to assume a natural fulness; but the pulsation was still faintly perceptible. The servant then

put some of the ghee on his tongue, and made him swallow it. A few minutes afterwards the eyeballs became dilated, and recovered their natural colour, when the Fakeer, recognising Runjeet Singh sitting close to him, articulated, in a low, sepulchral tone, scarcely audible, "Do you believe me now?" Runjeet Singh replied in the affirmative, and invested the Fakeer with a pearl necklace and superb pair of gold bracelets, and pieces of silk and muslin, and shawls, forming what is called a khelat; such as is usually conferred by the Princes of India on persons of distinction.

From the time of the box being opened, to the recovery of the voice, not more than half an hour could have elapsed; and in another half hour the Fakeer talked with myself and those about him freely, though feebly, like a sick person; and we then left him, convinced that there had been no fraud or collusion in the exhibition we had witnessed.

I was present, also, when the Fakeer was summoned by Runjeet Singh from a considerable distance to Lahore, some months afterwards, again to bury himself alive before Captain Osborne and the officers of the late Sir William M'Naghten's mission in 1838; which, after the usual preparation, he offered to do for a few days, the term of Sir William's mission being nearly expired; but from the tenor of the doubts expressed, and some observations made by Captain Osborne as to keeping the key of the room in which he was to be buried in his own possession, the Fakeer, with the superstitious dread of an Indian, became evidently alarmed, and apprehensive that if once within Captain Osborne's power, he would not be allowed to escape. His refusal on that occasion will naturally induce a suspicion of the truth of the transaction which I witnessed; but to those well acquainted with the character of the natives of India, it will not be surprising that, where life and death were concerned, the Fakeer should have manifested a distrust of what to him appeared the mysterious intentions of a European who was a perfect stranger to him, while he was ready to repose implicit confidence in Runjeet Singh and others before whom he had exhibited. I am satisfied that he refused only from the cause I have mentioned, and that

he would have done for me what he declined doing for Captain Osborne.

It had previously been observed, also, by Sir William M'Naghten and others of the party, truly, though jestingly, that if the Fakeer should not survive the trial to which he was required to submit, those who might instigate him to it would run the risk of being indicted for murder, which induced them to refrain from pressing the subject further.

I share entirely in the apparent incredibility of the fact of a man being buried alive, and surviving the trial for various periods of duration; but however incompatible with our knowledge of physiology, in the absence of any visible proof to the contrary, I am bound to declare my belief in the facts which I have represented, however impossible their existence may appear to others.—*Braid on Trance.*

AGOSTINE FOSARI.

Paying a visit to a friend, says a foreigner, I met there an Italian gentleman, called Agostine Fosari, who was, it seems, a night-walker, or person who, whilst asleep, does all the actions of one awake. He did not seem to exceed the age of thirty, was lean, black, and of an extremely melancholy complexion. He had a sedate understanding, great penetration, and a capacity for the most abstract sciences. His extraordinary fits generally seized him in the wane of the moon, but with greater violence in the autumn and winter, than in spring and summer. I had a strange curiosity to be an eye-witness of what was told me, and had prevailed on his valet-de-chambre to give me notice when his master was likely to renew his vagary. One night, about the end of September, after supper, the company amused themselves with little plays, and Signor Agostine made one among them. He afterwards retired and went to bed about eleven: soon after, his valet came and told us that his master would that night have a walking fit, and desired us, if we pleased, to come and observe him. I went to his bedside with a light in my hand, and saw him lying

upon his back, with his eyes open, but fixed, which was a sure sign, it seems, of his approaching disorder. I took him by the hands, and found them very cold; I felt his pulse, and found it so slow, that his blood seemed to have no circulation. At or about midnight, Signor Agostine drew the curtains briskly, arose, and dressed himself well enough. I approached him with the candle at his very nose, found him insensible, with his eyes still wide open and immovable. Before he put on his hat he took his belt, out of which the sword had been removed for fear of accidents, as some of these night-walkers will deal about their blows like madmen without any reserve.

In this equipage did Signor Agostine walk backwards and forwards in his chamber several times; he came to the fireside, sat down in an elbow-chair, and went a little time after into a closet, where was his portmanteau, and put the key into his pocket, whence he drew a letter and placed it on the chimney-piece. He went to the bed-chamber door, opened it, and proceeded down stairs: when he came to the bottom, one of the company getting a great fall, Signior Agostine seemed frighted at the noise, and mended his pace. The valet bid us walk softly and not to speak, because when any noise was made near him, and intermixed with his dreams, he became furious, and ran with the greatest precipitancy as if pursued.

He traversed the whole court, which was very spacious, and proceeded directly to the stable. He went in, stroked and caressed his horse, bridled him, and was going to saddle him, but not finding the saddle in its usual place, he seemed very uneasy, like a man disappointed; he, however, mounted his horse, galloped to the house-door, which was shut, dismounted, and, taking up a cabbage-stalk, knocked furiously against the door, and after a great deal of labour lost, he remounted his horse, guided him to the pond, which was at the other end of the court, let him drink, went afterwards and tied him to his manger, and then returned to the house with great agility. At the noise some servants made in the kitchen, he was very attentive, came near the door, and clapped his ear to the key-hole; but passing all on a sudden to the other side, he entered a low parlour, where was a

billiard-table, and, walking backwards and forwards, used the same postures as if he had been actually playing. He proceeded thence to a pair of virginals, upon which he could play pretty well, and made some jingling. At last, after two hours' exercise, he returned up stairs to his chamber, and threw himself, in his clothes, upon the bed, where we found him next morning at nine in the same posture we had left him. For upon these occasions he ever slept eight or ten hours together. His valet told us there were but two ways to recover him out of these fits: one was to tickle him strongly on the soles of his feet; the other, to sound a horn or trumpet at his ears.—*Wanley's Wonders.*

ECSTASY.

THE SLEEPING PREACHER.

Perhaps the most remarkable case of *Devotional Somnium* on record is that of Miss Rachel Baker, of the State of New York. A full history of her case may be found in the Transactions of the Physico-Medical Society of New York, Vol. i. p. 395.

Rachel Baker was born at Pelham, Massachusetts, May 29, 1794. Her parents were religious persons, and early taught her the importance of religion. From childhood, she appeared to possess a contemplative disposition, but her mind was not vigorous, nor was she much disposed to improve it by reading. At the age of nine years, she removed with her parents to the town of Marcellus, State of New York. From that time, she said, she had frequently strong convictions of the importance of eternal things, and the thoughts of God and eternity would make her tremble. In June 1811, while on a visit to the town of Scipio, she was deeply affected in visiting the baptism of a young lady; and from that period she was impressed with a stronger conviction of her own sinfulness. On her return to

Marcellus, she endeavoured to suppress her religious anxiety, but in vain,—her anguish of mind was fully depicted in her countenance.

On the evening of the 28th of November, as she was sitting in a chair, apparently asleep, she began to sigh and groan as if in excessive pain. She had said a short time before, that she should live only a little while, and as she now repeated the expression, her parents were apprehensive that she was dying. This evening she talked incoherently, but manifested in what she said much religious concern. She continued almost every night talking in her sleep in this way, till the 27th of January, 1812. On that evening, soon after she had fallen asleep, she was seized with a great fit of trembling. She shrieked aloud and woke in great terror. Horror and despondency overwhelmed her with dread of a miserable eternity, and of her speedy and inevitable doom. But these agonising feelings were soon succeeded by a calm; her mind became tranquil, and in her nightly devotions, which were now regular and coherent, she poured forth a spirit of meekness, gratitude, and love. From this time the whole tenor of her soul seemed to be changed; she was incapable of expressing her sentiments on divine things clearly when awake; but her sleeping exercises were so solemn and impressive, that few who heard them doubted that they were the genuine fruits of penitence, piety, and peace.

Dr. Mitchell, in describing Miss Baker's case, says: "She has for several years been seized with somnium of a devotional kind once a day with great regularity. These daily paroxysms recur with wonderful exactness, and from long prevalence have now become habitual. They invade her at early bed-time, and a fit usually lasts about three-quarters of an hour. A paroxysm has been known to end in thirty-five minutes, and to continue ninety-eight. The transition from the waking state to that of somnium is very rapid; frequently in a quarter of an hour, or even less. After she retires from company in the parlour, she is discovered to be occupied in praising God in a distinct and sonorous voice. Her discourses are usually pronounced in a private chamber, for the purpose of delivering them with more decorum on

her own part, and with greater satisfaction to her hearers. She has been advised to take the recumbent posture, her face being turned towards the heavens. She performs her nightly devotions with a constancy and fervour wholly unexampled for a human being in a state of somnium. Her body and limbs are motionless; they stir no more than the trunk and extremities of a statue; the only motion the spectator perceives is that of her organs of speech, and an oratorical inclination of the head and neck, as if she were intently engaged in performing an academical or theological exercise. She commences and ends with an address to the Throne of Grace, consisting of proper topics of acknowledgment, submission, and reverence, of praise and thanksgiving, and of prayer for herself, her friends, the church, the nation, for enemies, and the human race in general. Between these, is her sermon or exhortation. She begins without a text, and proceeds with an even course to the end; embellishing it sometimes with fine metaphors, vivid descriptions, and poetical quotations.

"There is a state of body like groaning, sobbing, or moaning, and the distressful sound continues from two minutes to a quarter of an hour. This agitation, however, does not wake her; it gradually subsides, and she passes into a sound and natural sleep, which continues during the remainder of the night. In the morning she wakes as if nothing had happened, and entirely ignorant of the scenes in which she has been an actor. She declares that she knows nothing of the nightly exercises, except from the information of others. With the exception of the beforementioned agitation of body and exercise of mind, she enjoys perfect health."

In October 1814, Miss Baker was brought to New York by her friends, in hopes that her somnial exercises, which were considered by some of them as owing to disease, might, by the exercise of a journey, and the novelty of a large city, be removed. But none of these means produced the desired effect. Her acquaintances stated that her somnial exercises took place every night regularly, except in a few instances when interrupted by severe sickness, from the time they commenced in 1812. In September 1816,

however, these nightly exercises were interrupted by medical treatment, particularly by the use of opium.—*Barber's History and Antiquities of the Northern State of America.*

PREDICTIONS.

A CURIOUS MEMORANDUM FOUND AMONG THE PAPERS OF M. DE LA HARPE.

It appears to me as if it were but yesterday, and it was nevertheless in the beginning of the year 1788, we were at the table of a brother Academician, who was of the highest rank, and a man of talents. The company was numerous and of all kinds,—courtiers, advocates, literary men, academicians, etc. We had been, as usual, luxuriously entertained, and at the dessert the wines of Malvoisie and the Cape added to the natural gaiety of good company that kind of social freedom which sometimes stretches beyond the rigid decorum of it. In short, we were in a state to allow of anything that would produce mirth. Chamfort had been reading some of his impious and libertine tales, and the fine ladies had heard them without once making use of their fans. A deluge of pleasantries on religion then succeeded; one gave a quotation from the Maid of Orleans, another recollected and applauded the philosophical distich of Diderot—

Et des boyaux du dernier prêtre
Serrez le cou du dernier roi.
And the last priest's entrails form the string
Around the neck of the last king.

A third rises, and with a bumper in his hand: "Yes, gentlemen," he exclaims, "I am as sure that there is no God, as I am certain that Homer is a fool."

The conversation afterwards took a more serious turn, and the most ardent admiration was expressed of the revo-

lution which Voltaire had produced; and they all agreed that it formed the brightest ray of his glory. "He has given the *ton* to his age, and has contrived to be read in the chamber as well as in the drawing-room." One of the company mentioned, and almost burst with laughter at the circumstance, that his hair-dresser had said, whilst he was powdering him, "Look you, Sir, though I am nothing but a poor journeyman barber, I have no more religion than another man." It was concluded that the revolution would soon be consummated, and that it was absolutely necessary for superstition and fanaticism to give place to philosophy. The probability of this epoch was then calculated, and which of the present company would live to see the Reign of Reason. The elder part of them lamented that they could not flatter themselves with the hope of enjoying such a pleasure; while the younger part rejoiced that they should witness it. The Academy was felicitated on having prepared the ground-work, and being at the same time the stronghold, the centre, the moving principle of freedom of thought.

There was only one of the guests who had not shared in the delights of this conversation; he had even ventured in a quiet way to start a few pleasantries on our noble enthusiasm. It was Cazotte, an amiable man of an original turn of mind, but unfortunately infatuated with the reveries of the *Illuminati*. He renewed the conversation in a very serious tone, and in the following manner: "Gentlemen," said he, "be satisfied; you will all see this grand and sublime revolution. You know that I am something of a prophet, and I repeat that you will all see it." He was answered by the common expression, "It is not necessary to be a great conjurer to foretell that."

"Agreed; but perhaps it may be necessary to be something more, respecting what I am now going to tell you. Have you any idea what will result from this revolution? What will happen to ourselves; to every one now present; what will be the immediate progress of it, with its certain effects and consequences?"

"Oh," said Condorcet, with his silly and saturnine laugh, "let us know all about it; a philosopher can have no objection to meet a prophet."

"You, M. Condorcet, will expire on the pavement of a dungeon; you will die of the poison which you will have taken to escape from the hands of the executioner; of poison, which the happy state of that period will render it absolutely necessary that you should carry about you."

At first, there appeared a considerable degree of astonishment, but it was soon recollected that Cazotte was in the habit of dreaming while he was awake; and the laugh was as loud as ever.

"M. Cazotte, the tale which you have just told is not so pleasant as your *Diable amoureux*. But what devil has put this dungeon, this poison, and these hangmen in your head? What can these things have in common with philosophy and the age of reason?"

"That is precisely what I am telling you. It will be in the name of philosophy, humanity, and liberty; it will be under the reign of reason, that what I have foretold will happen to you. It will then, indeed, be the reign of Reason, for she will have temples erected to her honour. Nay, throughout France there will be no other places of public worship than Temples of Reason."

"In faith," said Chamfort, with one of his sarcastic smiles, "you will not be an officiating priest in any of these temples."

"I hope not; but you, M. Chamfort, you will be well worthy of that distinction, for you will cut yourselves across the veins with twenty-two strokes of a razor, and will nevertheless survive the attempt for some months."

They all looked at him, and continued to laugh.

"You, M. Vicq d'Azyr, you will not open your veins yourself, but you will order them to be opened six times in one day, during a paroxysm of the gout, in order that you may not fail in your purpose, and you will die during the night. As for you, M. de Nicolai, you will die on the scaffold; and so, M. Bailly, will you; and so will you, M. Malesherbes."

Oh, heavens!" said Roucher: "it appears as if his vengeance were levelled solely against the Academy; he has just made a most horrible execution of the whole of it. Now tell me my fate in the name of mercy!"

"You will die also on the scaffold."

"Oh!" it was universally exclaimed, "he has sworn to exterminate us all."

"No, it is not I who have sworn it."

"Are we then to be subjugated by Turks and Tartars?"

"By no means. I have already told you, that you will then be governed by philosophy and reason alone. Those who will treat you as I have described, will, all of them, be philosophers: you will be continually uttering the same phrases that you have been repeating for the last hour, will deliver all your maxims, and will quote, as you have done, Diderot and the Maid of Orleans."

"Oh," it was whispered, "the man is out of his senses;" for during the whole of the conversation his countenance never underwent the least change.

"Oh, no," said another, "you must perceive that he is laughing at us; for he always blends the marvellous with his pleasantries."

"Yes," answered Chamfort, "the marvellous with him is never enlivened with gaiety. He always looks as if he were going to be hanged. But when will this happen?"

"Six years will not have passed, before all that I have told you shall be accomplished."

"Here, indeed, are plenty of miracles," (it was myself, says M. de la Harpe, who now spoke,) "and you set me down for nothing."

"You will," replied Cazotte, "be yourself a miracle as extraordinary as any which I have told; you will then be a Christian."

Loud exclamations immediately followed. "Ah," replied Chamfort, "all my fears are removed; for if we are not doomed to perish till La Harpe becomes a Christian, we shall be immortal."

"As for the women," said the Duchess of Grammont, "it is very fortunate that we are considered as nothing in these revolutions. Not that we are totally discharged from all concern in them, but it is understood that in such cases we are to be left to ourselves—our sex."

"Your sex, ladies," said he, interrupting her, "will be no guarantee to you in these times. It will make no difference whatever, whether you interfere or not. You will be treated precisely as the men; no distinction will be made between you."

"But what does all this mean, M. Cazotte? You are surely preaching to us about the end of the world."

"I know no more of that, my Lady Duchess, than yourself; but this I know, that you will be conducted to the scaffold, with several other ladies, in the cart of the executioner, and with your hands tied behind you."

"I hope, sir, that, in such a case, I shall be allowed, at least, a coach hung with black?"

"No, madam, you will not have that indulgence; ladies of higher rank than you will be drawn in a cart as you will be, with their hands tied as yours will be, and to the same fate as that to which you are destined."

"Ladies of greater rank than myself? What! princesses of the blood?"

"Greater still!"

Here there was a very sensible emotion throughout the company, and the countenance of the master of the mansion wore a very grave and solemn aspect; it was indeed very generally observed, that this pleasantry was carried rather too far. Madame de Grammont, in order to disperse the cloud that seemed to be approaching, made no reply to his last answer, but contented herself with saying, with an air of gaiety, "You see he will not even leave me a confessor."

"No, madam, that consolation will be denied to all of you. The last person led to the scaffold, who will be allowed a confessor, as the greatest of favours, will be ——"

Here he paused for a moment.

"And who, then, is the happy mortal who will be allowed to enjoy this prerogative?"

"It is the only one which will be left him; it will be —the King of France!"

The master of the house now rose in haste, and his company was all actuated by the same impulse. He then advanced towards M. Cazotte, and said to him in an affecting and impressive tone—"My dear M. Cazotte, we have had enough of these melancholy conceits. You carry it too far, even to compromising the company with whom you are, and yourself along with them."

Cazotte made no answer, and was about to retire, when Madame de Grammont, who wished, if possible, to do away all serious impressions, and to restore some kind of gaiety

among them, advanced towards him, and said: "My good prophet, you have been so kind as to tell us all our fortunes, but you have not mentioned anything regarding your own."

After a few moments' silence, with his eyes fixed on the ground, "Madame," replied he, "have you read the Siege of Jerusalem, as related by Josephus?"

"To be sure I have; and who has not? But you may suppose, if you please, that I know nothing about it."

"Then you must know, Madame, that during the siege of Jerusalem, a man for seven successive days went round the ramparts of that city, in sight of the besieged and besiegers, crying incessantly, in a loud and inauspicious voice, 'Woe to Jerusalem!' and on the seventh day he cried, 'Woe to Jerusalem and to myself!' and at that very moment, an enormous stone thrown by the machine of the enemy dashed him to pieces."

M. Cazotte then made his bow and departed.

Thus far M. de la Harpe. Those who recollect the melancholy exit of all those characters above mentioned, during the reign of terror in France, must be astonished at the exact fulfilment of this remarkable prediction, so unlikely to be accomplished at the time it was uttered. That M. de la Harpe was capable of imposing a falsehood on the world, in the last moments of his life, will, I believe, be suspected by few; and I have never heard the authenticity of the above called in question.—*News from the Invisible World.*

DRYDEN AND HIS SON'S NATIVITY.

Dryden, with all his understanding, was fond of judicial astrology, and used to calculate the nativity of his children. At the birth of his son Charles he laid his watch on the table, begging one of the ladies then present, in a most solemn manner, to take an exact notice of the very minute the child was born, which she did, and acquainted him with it. About a week after, when his lady was pretty well recovered, Mr. Dryden took occasion to tell her that he had been calculating the child's nativity, and observed with grief that he was born in an evil hour; for Jupiter, Venus, and

the Sun were all under the earth, and the lord of his ascendant afflicted with a hateful square of Mars and Saturn. "If he lives to arrive at his eighth year," said he, "he will go near to die a violent death on his very birth-day; but if he should escape, as I see but small hopes, he will, in the twenty-third year, be under the very same evil direction; and if he should escape that also, the thirty-third or thirty-fourth year will, I fear ——." Here he was interrupted by the grief of his lady, who could no longer patiently hear calamity prophesied to befall her son.

The time at last came, and August was the inauspicious month in which young Dryden was to enter into the eighth year of his age. The court being in progress, and Mr. Dryden at leisure, he was invited to the country seat of the Earl of Berkshire, his brother-in-law, to keep the long vacation with him at Charlton in Wilts: his lady was invited to her uncle Mordaunt's, to pass the remainder of the summer. When they came to divide the children, lady Elizabeth would have him take John, and suffer her to take Charles; but Mr. Dryden was too absolute, and they parted in anger: he took Charles with him, and she was obliged to be content with John.

When the fatal day came, the anxiety of the lady's spirits occasioned such an effervescence of blood as threw her into a violent fever, and her life was despaired of, till a letter came from Mr. Dryden, reproving her for her womanish credulity, and assuring her that her child was well, which recovered her spirits; and in six weeks after she received an explanation of the whole affair.

Mr. Dryden, either through fear of being reckoned superstitious, or thinking it a science beneath his study, was extremely cautious of letting any one know that he was a dealer in astrology, and therefore could not excuse his absence on his son's anniversary from a general hunting-match Lord Berkshire had made, to which all the adjacent gentlemen were invited. When he went out, he took care to set the boy a double exercise in the Latin tongue, which he taught his children himself, with a strict charge not to stir out of the room till his return, well knowing the task he had set him would take up much longer time.

Charles was performing his duty in obedience to his father;

but, as ill fate would have it, the stag made towards the house, and the noise alarming the servants, they hastened out to see the sport. One of them took young Dryden by the hand, and led him out to see it also; when, just as they came to the gate, the stag being at bay with the dogs, made a bold push and leaped over the court wall, which, being very low and old, and the dogs following, threw down a part of the wall ten yards in length, under which Charles Dryden lay buried. He was immediately dug out, and after languishing six weeks in a dangerous way he recovered. So far Dryden's prediction was fulfilled.

On the twenty-third year of his age, Charles fell from the top of an old tower belonging to the Vatican at Rome, occasioned by a swimming in his head with which he was seized, the heat of the day being excessive. He again recovered, but was ever after in a languishing state.

In the thirty-third year of his age, being returned to England, he was unhappily drowned at Windsor. He had, with another gentleman, swam twice over the Thames; but returning a third time, it was supposed he was taken with the cramp, because he called out for help, although too late. Thus the father's calculation proved but too prophetical.—*Wanley's Wonders*, Vol. ii.

DIVINATION.

ARTIFICIAL DIVINATION

Is that which proceeds by reasoning upon certain external signs, considered as indications of futurity.

NATURAL DIVINATION

Is that which presages things from a mere internal sense and persuasion of the mind, without any assistance of signs; and is of two kinds—the one from nature, and the other by influx. The first is the supposition that the soul, collected within itself, and not diffused, or divided among the organs of the body, has, from its own nature and essence, some foreknowledge of future things: witness what is seen in dreams, ecstasies, on the confines of death, &c. The second

supposes that the soul, after the manner of a mirror, receives some secondary illumination from the presence of God and other spirits.

AXINOMANCY

Was an ancient species of divination or method of foretelling future events by means of an axe or hatchet. The word is derived from the Greek, *αξινη, an axe; μαντεια, divination.* This art was in considerable repute among the ancients; and was performed, according to some, by laying an agate stone upon a red-hot hatchet.

ALECTOROMANTIA

Is an ancient kind of divination, performed by means of a cock, which was used among the Greeks in the following manner:—A circle was made on the ground, and divided into 24 equal portions or spaces: in each space was written one of the letters of the alphabet, and upon each of these letters was laid a grain of wheat. This being done, a cock was placed within the circle, and careful observation was made of the grains he picked. The letters corresponding to these grains were afterwards formed into a word, which word was the answer decreed. It was thus that Libanius and Jamblicus sought who should succeed the Emperor Valens; and the cock answering to the spaces ΘΕΟΔ, they concluded upon Theodore, but by a mistake, instead of Theodosius.

ARITHMOMANCY

Is a kind of divination or method of foretelling future events by means of numbers. The Gematria, which makes the first species of the Jewish Cabala, is a kind of Arithmomancy.

BELOMANCY

Is a method of divination by means of arrows, practised in the East, but chiefly among the Arabians.

Belomancy has been performed in different manners: one was to mark a parcel of arrows, and to put eleven or more of them into a bag; these were afterwards drawn out, and according as they were marked, or otherwise, they judged

of future events. Another way was to have three arrows, upon one of which was written, *God forbids it me;* upon another, *God orders it me;* and upon the third nothing at all. These were put into a quiver, out of which one of the three was drawn at random; if it happened to be that with the second inscription, the thing they consulted about was to be done; if it chanced to be that with the first inscription, the thing was let alone; and if it proved to be that without any inscription, they drew over again. Belomancy is an ancient practice, and is probably that which Ezekiel mentions, chap. xxi. v. 21: at least St Jerome understands it so, and observes that the practice was frequent among the Assyrians and Babylonians. Something like it is also mentioned in Hosea (chap. vi.), only that staves are mentioned there instead of arrows, which is rather Rhabdomancy than Belomancy. Grotius, as well as Jerome, confound the two together, and show that they prevailed much among the Magi, Chaldeans, and Scythians, from whom they passed to the Sclavonians, and thence to the Germans, whom Tacitus observes to make use of Belomancy.

CLEROMANCY

Is a kind of divination performed by the throwing of dice or little bones; and observing the points or marks turned up.

At Bura, a city of Achaia, a celebrated Temple of Hercules, where such as consulted the oracle, after praying to the idol, threw four dice, the points of which being well scanned by the priest, he was supposed to draw an answer from them.

CLEDONISM.

This word is derived from the Greek χλησων, which signifies two things, — viz. a report, and a bird: in the first sense, *Cledonism* should denote a kind of divination drawn from words occasionally uttered. Cicero observes that the Pythagoreans made observations not only of the words of the gods, but of those of men, and accordingly believed the pronouncing of certain words—*e. g. incendium* —at a meal very unlucky. Thus, instead of prison, they used the words *domicilium;* and to avoid calling the Furies by the name erinnyes, which was supposed to be unpleasing

to them said *Eumenides*. In the second sense, Cledonism should seem a divination drawn from birds,—the same with Ornithomantia.

COSCINOMANCY,

As the word implies, is the art of divination by means of a sieve.

The sieve being suspended, after repeating a certain form of words, it is taken between two fingers only, and the names of the parties suspected repeated: he at whose name the sieve turns, trembles, or shakes, is reputed guilty of the evil in question. This doubtless must be a very ancient practice. Theocritus, in his third Idyllion, mentions a woman who was very skilful in it. It was sometimes also practised by suspending the sieve by a thread, or fixing it to the points of a pair of scissors, giving it room to turn, and naming, as before, the parties suspected: in this manner Coscinomancy is still practised in some parts of England. From Theocritus it appears that it was not only used to find out persons unknown, but also to discover secrets.

CAPNOMANCY

Is a kind of divination by means of smoke, used by the ancients in their sacrifices. The general rule was, when the smoke was thin and light, and ascended straight up, it was a good omen; if on the contrary, it was an ill one.

There was another species of Capnomancy, which consisted in observing the smoke arising from poppy and jessamin seed cast upon burning coals.

CATOPTROMANCY

Is another species of divination used by the ancients, performed by means of a mirror.

Pausanias says that this method of divination was in use among the Achaians, where those who were sick, and in danger of death, let down a mirror, or looking-glass, fastened by a thread, into a fountain before the temple of Ceres; then, looking in the glass, if they saw a ghastly disfigured face, they took it as a sure sign of death; but, on the contrary, if the face appeared fresh and healthy, it was a token of recovery. Sometimes glasses were used without water,

and the images of future things, it is said, were represented in them.

CHIROMANCY

Is the art of divining the fate, temperament, and disposition of a person by the lines and lineaments of the hands.

There are a great many authors on this art,—viz. Artemidorus, Fludd, Johannes de Indagine, Taconerus, and M. De le Chambre, who are among the best.

M. De le Chambre insists upon it that the inclinations of people may be known from consulting the lines on the hands, there being a very near correspondence between the parts of the hand and the internal parts of the body, the heart, liver, &c., "whereon the passions and inclinations much depend." He adds, however, that the rules and precepts of Chiromancy are not sufficiently warranted, the experiments on which they stand not being well verified.

DACTYLIOMANCY.

☞ This is a sort of divination performed by means of a ring. It was done as follows:—viz. by holding a ring, suspended by a fine thread, over a round table, on the edge of which were made a number of marks with the 24 letters of the alphabet. The ring, in shaking or vibrating over the table, stopped over certain of the letters, which, being joined together, composed the required answer. But this operation was preceded and accompanied by several superstitious ceremonies; for, in the first place, the ring was to be consecrated with a great deal of mystery; the person holding it was to be clad in linen garments to the very shoes, his head was to be shaven all round, and he was to hold vervein in his hand. And before he proceeded on anything the gods were first to be appeased by a formulary of prayers, &c.

The whole process of this mysterious rite is given in the 29th book of Ammianus Marcellinus.

EXTISPICIUM.

(From *exta* and *spicere*, to view, consider.)

The name of the officer who showed and examined the entrails of the victims was Extispex.

This method of divination, or of drawing presages relative to futurity, was much practised throughout Greece, where there were two families, the *Jamidæ* and *Clytidæ*, consecrated or set apart particularly for the exercise of it.

The Hetrurians, in Italy, were the first *Extispices*, among whom likewise the art was in great repute. Lucan gives us a fine description of one of these operations in his first book.

GASTROMANCY.

This species of divination, practised among the ancients, was performed by means of ventriloquism.

There is another kind of divination called by the same name, which is performed by means of glasses, or other round transparent vessels, within which certain figures appear by magic art. Hence its name, in consequence of the figures appearing as if in the interior of the vessels.

GEOMANCY

Was performed by means of a number of little points or dots, made at random on paper, and afterwards considering the various lines and figures which these points present; thereby forming a pretended judgment of futurity, and deciding a proposed question.

Polydore Virgil defines Geomancy a kind of divination performed by means of clefts or chinks made in the ground, and he takes the Persian Magi to have been the inventors of it. (*De invent. rer.* lib. i. c. 23.)

Geomancy is formed of the Greek γη, *terra*, earth; and μαντεια, divination; it being the ancient custom to cast little pebbles on the ground, and thence to form their conjecture, instead of the points above mentioned.

HYDROMANCY, Ὑδρομαντεια.

The art of divining or foretelling future events by means of water, and is one of the four general kinds of divination: the other three, as regarding the other elements,—viz. fire and earth,—are denominated Pyromancy, Aeromancy, and Geomancy, already mentioned.

The Persians are said by Varro to have been the first in-

ventors of Hydromancy, observing also that Numa Pompilius and Pythagoras made use of it.

There are various Hydromantic machines and vessels, which are of a singularly curious nature.

ONEIROCRITICA

Is the art of interpreting dreams, or a method of foretelling future events by means of dreams.

ONOMANCY, OR ONOMAMANCY,

Is the art of divining the good or bad fortune which will befall a man from the letters of his name. This mode of divination was a very popular and reputable practice among the ancients.

The Pythagoreans taught that the minds, actions, and successes of mankind were according to their fate, genius, and name; and Plato himself inclines somewhat to the same opinion.

Thus Hippolytus was observed to be torn to pieces by his own coach horses, as his name imported; and thus Agamemnon signified that he should linger long before Troy; Priam that he should be redeemed out of bondage in his childhood. To this also may be referred that of Claudius Rutilius:—

> Nominibus certis credam decurrere mores?
> Moribus aut Potius nomina certa dari?

It is a frequent and no less just observation in history, that the greatest empires and states have been founded and destroyed by men of the same name. Thus, for instance, Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, began the Persian monarchy, and Cyrus, the son of Darius, ruined it; Darius, son of Hystaspes, restored it; and again, Darius, son of Asamis, utterly overthrew it. Phillip, son of Amyntas, exceedingly enlarged the kingdom of Macedonia; and Phillip, son of Antigonus, wholly lost it. Augustus was the first emperor of Rome, Augustulus the last. Constantine first settled the empire of Constantinople, and Constantine lost it wholly to the Turks.

There is a similar observation that some names are constantly unfortunate to princes,—*e. g.* Caius, among the

Romans; John in France, England, and Scotland; and Henry in France.

One of the principal rules of Onomancy, among the Pythagoreans, was, that an even number of vowels in a name signified an imperfection in the left side of a man, and an odd number in the right. Another rule, about as good as this, was, that those persons were the most happy in whose names the numeral letters, added together, made the greatest sum; for this reason, say they, it was that Achilles vanquished Hector, the numeral letters in the former name amounting to a greater number than the latter. And doubtless it was from a like principle that the young Romans toasted their mistresses at their meetings as often as their names contained letters.

"Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur!"

Rhodingius describes a singular kind of Onomantia. Theodotus, King of the Goths, being curious to learn the success of his wars against the Romans, an Onomantical Jew ordered him to shut up a number of swine in little stys, and to give some of them Roman, and others Gothic names, with different marks to distinguish them, and there to keep them till a certain day; which day having come, upon inspecting the stys they found those dead to which the Gothic names had been given, and those alive to which the Roman names were assigned: upon which the Jew foretold the defeat of the Goths.

ONYCOMANCY, OR ONYMANCY.

This kind of divination is performed by means of the finger nails. The ancient practice was to rub the nails of a youth with oil and soot, or wax, and to hold up the nails thus prepared, against the sun, upon which there were supposed to appear figures or characters which showed the thing required. Hence, also, modern Chiromancers call that branch of their art which relates to the inspection of nails, Onycomancy.

ORNITHOMANCY

Is a kind of divination, or method of arriving at the knowledge of futurity, by means of birds; it was among the Greeks what Augury was among the Romans.

PYROMANCY,

A species of divination performed by means of fire.

The ancients imagined they could foretell futurity by inspecting fire and flame; for this purpose they considered its direction, or which way it turned. Sometimes they threw pitch into it, and if it took fire instantly they considered it a favourable omen.

PSYCOMANCY, OR SCIOMANCY.

An art among the ancients of raising or calling up the manes or souls of deceased persons, to give intelligence of things to come. The witch who conjured up the soul of Samuel, to foretell Saul the event of the battle he was about to give, did so by Sciomancy.

RHABDOMANCY

Was an ancient method of divination performed by means of rods or staves. St. Jerome mentions this kind of divination in his commentary on Hosea, chap. vi. 12, where the prophet says, in the name of God, *My people ask counsel at their stocks; and their staff declareth unto them:* which passage that father understands of the Grecian *Rhabdomancy.*

The same is met with again in Ezekiel, xxi. 21, 22, where the prophet says, *For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way,* at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright; or, as St. Jerome renders it, *he mixed his arrows; he consulted with images; he looked in the liver.*

If it be the same kind of divination that is alluded to in these two passages, *Rhabdomancy* must be the same kind of superstition with Belomancy: these two, in fact, are generally confounded. So much, however, is certain, that the instruments of divination mentioned by Hosea are different from those of Ezekiel: though it is possible they might use rods or arrows indifferently; or the military men might use arrows, and the rest rods.

By the laws of the Frisones, it appears that the ancient inhabitants of Germany practised Rhabdomancy. The Scythians were likewise acquainted with the use of it; and Herodotus observes (lib. vi.) that the women among the Alani sought and gathered together fine straight wands or rods, and used them for the same superstitious purposes.

Among the various other kinds of divination not here mentioned may be enumerated—*Chilomancy*, performed with keys; *Alphitomancy* or *Aleuromancy*, by flour; *Kerauno-scopia*, by the consideration of thunder; *Alectromancy*, by cocks; *Lithomancy*, by stones; *Eychnomancy*, by lamps; *Ooscopy*, by eggs; *Licanomancy*, by a basin of water; *Palpitatim*, *Salisatio*, παλμος, by the pulsation or motion of some member, &c.

All these kinds of divination have been condemned by the fathers of the Church, and Councils, as supposing some compact with the devil. Fludd has written several treatises on divination and its different species; and Cicero has two books of the divination of the ancients, in which he confutes the whole system. Cardan also, in his 4th book, De Sapientia, describes every species of them.—*Demonologia.*

THE DIVINING ROD.

In the spring of 1847, [says Dr. Mayo,] being then at Weilbach, in Nassau, a region teeming with underground sources of water, I requested the son of the proprietor of the bathing establishment—a tall, thin, pale, white-haired youth, by name Edward Seebold—to walk in my presence up and down a promising spot of ground, holding a divining fork of hazel, with the accessories recommended by M. de Tristan to beginners—that is to say, he held in his right hand three pieces of silver, besides one handle of the rod, while the handle which he held in his left hand was covered with thin silk.

The lad had not made five steps, when the point of the divining fork began to ascend. He laughed with astonishment at the event, which was totally unexpected by him;

and he said that he experienced a tickling or thrilling sensation in his hands. He continued to walk up and down before me. The fork had soon described a complete circle; then it described another; and so it continued to do as long as he walked thus, and as often as, after stopping, he resumed his walk. The experiment was repeated by him in my presence, with like success, several times during the ensuing month. Then the lad fell into ill health, and I rarely saw him. However, one day I sent for him, and begged him to do me the favour of making another trial with the divining fork. He did so, but the instrument moved slowly and sluggishly; and when, having completed a semicircle, it pointed backwards towards the pit of his stomach, it stopped, and would go no farther. At the same time the lad said he felt an uneasy sensation, which quickly increased to pain, at the pit of the stomach, and he became alarmed, when I bade him quit hold of one handle of the divining rod, and the pain ceased. Ten minutes afterwards I induced him to make another trial: the results were the same. A few days later, when the lad seemed still more out of health, I induced him to repeat the experiment. Now, however, the divining fork would not move at all.

I entertain little doubt that the above performances of Edward Seebold were genuine. I thought the same of the performances of three English gentlemen, and of a German, in whose hands, however, the divining rod never moved through an entire circle. In the hands of one of them its motion was retrograde, or abnormal: that is to say, it began by descending.

But I met with other cases, which were less satisfactory, though not uninstructive. I should observe that, in the hands of several who tried to use it in my presence, the divining fork would not move an inch. But there were two younger brothers of Edward Seebold, and a bath-maid, and my own man, in whose hands the rod played new pranks. When these parties walked *forwards*, the instrument ascended, or moved normally; but when, by my desire, they walked *backwards*, the instrument immediately went the other way. I should observe that, in the hands of Edward Seebold, the instrument moved in the same direction whether he walked forwards or backwards; and I have mentioned

that at first it described in his hands a complete circle. But with the four parties I have just been speaking of, the motion of the fork was always limited in extent. When it moved normally at starting, it stopped after describing an arc of about 225°; in the same way when it moved abnormally at starting, it would stop after describing an arc of about 135°; that is to say, there was one spot the same for the two cases, beyond which it could not get. Then I found that, in the hands of my man, the divining rod would move even when he was standing still, although with a less lively action; still it stopped as before, nearly at the same point. Sometimes it ascended, sometimes descended. Then I tried some experiments, touching the point with a magnetic needle. I found, in the course of them, that when my man knew which way I expected the fork to move, it invariably answered my expectations; but when I had the man blindfolded, the results were uncertain and contradictory. The end of all this was, that I became certain that several of those in whose hands the divining rod moves, set it in motion and directed its motion by the pressure of their fingers, and by carrying their hands nearer to, or farther apart. In walking forwards, the hands are unconsciously borne towards each other; in walking backwards, the reverse is the case.

Therefore, I recommend no one to prosecute these experiments unless he can execute them himself, and unless the divining rod describes a complete circle in his hands; and even then he should be on his guard against self-deception.

POSTSCRIPT.—I am now (May, 1851,) again residing at the bathing establishment of Weilbach, near Mayence; and it was with some interest and curiosity that the other day I requested Mr. Edward Seebold, now a well-grown young man, in full health, to try his hand again with the divining rod. He readily assented to my request; and he this time knew exactly what result I expected. But the experiment entirely failed. The point of the divining rod rose, as he walked, not more than two or three inches; but this it does with every one who presses the two handles towards each other during the experiment. Afterwards the implement remained perfectly stationary.

I think I am not at liberty to withhold this result from the reader, whom it may lead to question, though it cannot induce myself to doubt, the genuineness of the former performances of Mr. E. S.—*Truths in Popular Superstitions.*

WITCHCRAFT.

STORY OF THE LADY ALICE KYTELER.

It was late in the twelfth century when the Anglo-Normans first set their feet in Ireland as conquerors, and before the end of the thirteenth, when the portion of that island which has since received the name of the English Pale, was already covered with flourishing towns and cities, which bore witness to the rapid increase of commerce in the hands of the enterprising and industrious settlers from the shores of Great Britain. The county of Kilkenny, attractive by its beauty and by its various resources, was one of the districts first occupied by the invaders, and at the time of which we are speaking, its chief town, named also Kilkenny, was a strong city with a commanding castle, and was inhabited by wealthy merchants, one of whom was a rich banker and money-lender, named William Outlawe.

This William Outlawe married a lady of property named Alice Kyteler, or Le Kyteler, who was, perhaps, the sister or a near relative of a William Kyteler, incidentally mentioned as holding the office of sheriff of the liberty of Kilkenny. William Outlawe died some time before 1302; and his widow became the wife of Adam le Blond, of Callan, of a family which, by its English name of White, held considerable estates in Kilkenny and Tipperary in later times. This second husband was dead before 1311; for in that year the Lady Alice appears as the wife of Richard de Valle; and at the time of the events narrated in the following pages, she was the spouse of a fourth husband, Sir John le Poer. By her first husband she had a son, named also William Outlawe, who appears to have been the heir to his father's property, and succeeded him as a banker.

He was his mother's favourite child, and seems to have inherited also a good portion of the wealth of the lady Alice's second and third husbands.

The few incidents relating to this family previous to the year 1324, which can be gathered from the entries on the Irish records, seem to show that it was not altogether free from the turbulent spirit which was so prevalent among the Anglo-Irish in former ages. It apppears that in 1302 Adam le Blond and Alice his wife intrusted to the keeping of William Outlawe the younger the sum of three thousand pounds in money, which William Outlawe, for the better security, buried in the earth within his house, a method of concealing treasure which accounts for many of our antiquarian discoveries. This was soon noised abroad; and one night William le Kyteler, the sheriff above mentioned, with others, by precept of the seneschal of the liberty of Kilkenny, broke into the house *vi et armis*, as the record has it, dug up the money, and carried it off, along with a hundred pounds belonging to William Outlawe himself, which they found in the house. Such an outrage as this could not pass in silence; but the perpetrators attempted to shelter themselves under the excuse that being dug up from the ground it was *treasure-trove*, and as such belonged to the king; and, when Adam le Blond and his wife Alice attempted to make good their claims, the sheriff trumped up a charge against them that they had committed homicide and other crimes, and that they had concealed Roesia Outlawe (perhaps the sister of William Outlawe the younger), accused of theft, from the agents of justice, under which pretences he threw into prison all three, Adam, Alice, and Roesia. They were, however, soon afterwards liberated, but we do not learn if they recovered their money. William Outlawe's riches, and his mother's partiality for him, appear to have drawn upon them both the jealousy and hatred of many of their neighbours, and even of some of their kindred, but they were too powerful and too highly connected to be reached in any ordinary way.

At this time, Richard de Ledrede, a turbulent intriguing prelate, held the see of Ossory, to which he had been consecrated in 1318 by mandate from Pope John XXII., the

same pontiff to whom we owe the first bull against sorcery (*contra magos magicasque superstitiones*), which was the ground-work of the inquisitorial persecutions of the following ages. In 1324, Bishop Richard made a visitation of his diocese, and "found," as the chronicler of these events informs us, "by an inquest in which were five knights and other noblemen in great multitude, that in the city of Kilkenny there had long been, and still were, many sorcerers using divers kinds of witchcraft, to the investigation of which the Bishop proceeding, as he was obliged by duty of his office, found a certain rich lady, called the Lady Alice Kyteler, the mother of William Outlawe, with many of her accomplices, involved in various such heresies." Here, then, was a fair occasion for displaying the zeal of a follower of the sorcery-hating Pope John, and also perhaps for indulging some other passions.

The persons accused as Lady Alice's accomplices were her son the banker William Outlawe, a clerk named Robert de Bristol, John Galrussyn, William Payn of Boly, Petronilla de Meath, Petronilla's daughter Sarah, Alice the wife of Henry the Smith, Annota Lange, Helena Galrussyn, Sysok Galrussyn, and Eva de Brounstoun. The charges brought against them were distributed under seven formidable heads. First, it was asserted that, in order to give effect to their sorcery, they were in the habit of denying totally the faith of Christ and of the Church for a year or month, according as the object to be attained was greater or less, so that during the stipulated period they believed in nothing that the Church believed, and abstained from worshipping the body of Christ, from entering a church, from hearing mass, and from participating in the sacrament. Second, that they propitiated the demons with sacrifices of living animals, which they divided member from member, and offered, by scattering them in cross-roads, to a certain demon who caused himself to be called Robin Artisson (*filius Artis*), who was "one of the poorer class of hell." Third, that by their sorceries they sought counsel and answers from demons. Fourth, that they used the ceremonies of the church in their nightly conventicles, pronouncing, with lighted candles of wax, sentence of excom-

munication, even against the persons of their own husbands, naming expressly every member, from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, and at length extinguishing the candles with the exclamation "Fie! fie! fie! Amen." Fifth, that with the intestines and other inner parts of cocks sacrificed to the demons, with "certain horrible worms," various herbs, the nails of dead men, the hair, brains, and clothes of children which had died unbaptized, and other things equally disgusting, boiled in the skull of a certain robber who had been beheaded, on a fire made of oak-sticks, they had made powders and ointments, and also candles of fat boiled in the said skull, with certain charms,—which things were to be instrumental in exciting love or hatred, and in killing and otherwise afflicting the bodies of faithful Christians, and in effecting various other purposes. Sixth, that the sons and daughters of the four husbands of the Lady Alice Kyteler had made their complaint to the Bishop, that she, by such sorcery, had procured the death of her husbands, and had so infatuated and charmed them, that they had given all their property to her and her son, to the perpetual impoverishment of their own sons and heirs; insomuch that her present husband, Sir John le Poer, was reduced to a most miserable state of body by her powders, ointments, and other magical operations; but being warned by her maid-servant, he had forcibly taken from his wife the keys of her boxes, in which he found a bag filled with the "detestable" articles above enumerated, which he had sent to the Bishop. Seventh, that there was an unholy connexion between the said Lady Alice and the demon called Robin Artisson, who sometimes appeared to her in the form of a cat, sometimes in that of a black shaggy dog, and at others in the form of a black man, with two tall and equally swarthy companions, each carrying an iron rod in his hand. It is added by some of the old chroniclers, that her offering to the demon was nine red cocks and nine peacocks' eyes, at a certain stone bridge at a cross-road; that she had a certain ointment with which she rubbed a beam of wood "called a coulter," upon which she and her accomplices were carried to any part of the world they wished, without hurt or stoppage; that "she swept the stretes of Kilkennie betweene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the

doores of hir sonne William Outlawe, murmuring secretlie with hir selfe these words:

> 'To the house of William my sonne,
> Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie town;'"

and that in her house was seized a wafer of consecrated bread, on which the name of the devil was written.

The Bishop of Ossory resolved at once to enforce in its utmost rigour the recent papal bull against offenders of this class; but he had to contend with greater difficulties than he expected. The mode of proceeding was new; for hitherto in England sorcery was looked upon as a crime of which the secular law had cognizance, and not as belonging to the ecclesiastical court; and this is said to have been the first trial of the kind in Ireland that had attracted any public attention. Moreover, the Lady Alice, who was the person chiefly attacked, had rich and powerful supporters. The first step taken by the Bishop was to require the Chancellor to issue a writ for the arrest of the persons accused. But it happened that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland at this time was Roger Outlawe, Prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and a kinsman of William Outlawe. This dignitary, in conjunction with Arnold le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny, expostulated with the Bishop, and tried to persuade him to drop the suit. When, however, the latter refused to listen to them, and persisted in demanding the writ, the Chancellor informed him that it was not customary to issue a writ of this kind, until the parties had been regularly proceeded against according to law. The Bishop indignantly replied that the service of the Church was above the forms of the law of the land; but the Chancellor now turned a deaf ear, and the Bishop sent two apparitors with a formal attendance of priests to the house of William Outlawe, where Lady Alice was residing, to cite her in person before his court. The lady refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court in this case; and, on the day she was to appear, the Chancellor, Roger Outlawe, sent advocates, who publicly pleaded her right to defend herself by her counsel, and not to appear in person. The Bishop, regardless of this plea, pronounced against her

the sentence of excommunication, and cited her son William Outlawe to appear on a certain day and answer to the charge of harbouring and concealing his mother in defiance of the authority of the church.

On learning this, the seneschal of Kilkenny, Arnold le Poer, repaired to the priory of Kells, where the Bishop was lodged, and made a long and touching appeal to him to mitigate his anger, until at length, wearied and provoked by his obstinacy, he left his presence with threats of vengeance. The next morning, as the Bishop was departing from the priory to continue his visitation in other parts of the diocese, he was stopped at the entrance to the town of Kells by one of the seneschal's officers, Stephen le Poer, with a body of armed men, who conducted him as a prisoner to the castle of Kilkenny, where he was kept in custody until the day was past on which William Outlawe had been cited to appear in his court. The Bishop, after many protests on the indignity offered in his person to the Church, and on the protection given to sorcerers and heretics, was obliged to submit. It was a mode of evading the form of law, characteristic of an age in which the latter was subservient to force, and the Bishop's friends believed that the king's officers were bribed by William Outlawe's wealth. They even reported afterwards, to throw more discredit on the authors of this act of violence, that one of the guards was heard to say to another, as they led him to prison, "That fair steed which William Outlawe presented to our lord Sir Arnald last night draws well, for it has drawn the Bishop to prison."

This summary mode of proceeding against an ecclesiastic appears to have caused astonishment even in Ireland, and during the first day multitudes of people of all classes visited the Bishop in his confinement, to feed and comfort him, the general ferment increasing with the discourses he pronounced to his visitors. To hinder this, the seneschal ordered him to be more strictly confined, and forbade the admission of any visitors, except a few of the Bishop's especial friends and servants. The Bishop at once placed the whole diocese under an interdict. It was necessary to prepare immediately some excuse for these proceedings, and the seneschal issued a proclamation calling upon all who had any com-

plaints to make against the Bishop of Ossory to come forward; and at an inquest held before the justices itinerant, many grievous crimes of the Bishop were rehearsed, but none would venture personally to charge him with them. All these circumstances, however, show that the Bishop was not faultless; and that his conduct would not bear a very close examination is evident, from the fact, that on more than one occasion in subsequent times he was obliged to shelter himself under the protection of the king's pardon for all past offences. William Outlawe now went to the archives of Kilkenny, and there found a former deed of accusation against the Bishop of Ossory for having defrauded a widow of the inheritance of her husband. The Bishop's party said that it was a cancelled document, the case having been taken out of the secular court; and that William had had a new copy made of it to conceal the evidence of this fact, and had then rubbed the fresh parchment with his shoes in order to give his copy the appearance of an old document. However, it was delivered to the seneschal, who now offered to release his prisoner on condition of his giving sufficient bail to appear and answer in the secular court the charge thus brought against him. This the Bishop refused to do, and after he had remained eighteen days in confinement, he was unconditionally set free.

The Bishop marched from his prison in triumph, full-dressed in his pontifical robes, and immediately cited William Outlawe to appear before him in his court on another day; but before that day arrived, he received a royal writ, ordering him to appear before the Lord Justice of Ireland without any delay, on penalty of a fine of a thousand pounds, to answer to the king for having placed his diocese under interdict, and also to make his defence against the accusations of Arnald le Poer. He received a similar summons from the Dean of St. Patrick's, to appear before him as the vicarial representative of the Archbishop of Dublin. The Bishop of Ossory made answer that it was not safe for him to undertake the journey, because his way lay through the lands and lordship of his enemy, Sir Arnald; but this excuse was not admitted, and the diocese was relieved from the interdict.

Other trials were reserved for the mortified prelate. On

the Monday after the Octaves of Easter, the seneschal, Arnald le Poer, held his court of justice in the judicial hall of the city of Kilkenny, and there the Bishop of Ossory resolved to present himself and invoke publicly the aid of the secular arm to his assistance in seizing the persons accused of sorcery. The seneschal forbade him to enter the court on his peril; but the Bishop persevered, and, "robed in his pontificals, carrying in his hands the body of Christ (the consecrated host) in a vessel of gold," and attended by a numerous body of friars and clergy, he entered the hall and forced his way to the tribunal. The seneschal received him with reproaches and insults, and caused him to be ignominiously turned out of court. At the repeated protest, however, of the offended prelate, and the intercession of some influential persons there present, he was allowed to return, and the seneschal ordered him to take his place at the bar allotted for criminals, upon which the Bishop cried out that Christ had never been treated so since he stood at the bar before Pontius Pilate. He then called upon the seneschal to cause the persons accused of sorcery to be seized and delivered into his hands, and, upon his refusal to do this, he held open the book of the decretals, and said, "You, Sir Arnald, are a knight, and instructed in letters, and that you may not have the plea of ignorance in this place, we are prepared here to show in these decretals that you and your officials are bound to obey my order in this respect under heavy penalties."

"Go to the church with your decretals," replied the seneschal, "and preach there, for here you will not find an attentive audience."

The Bishop then read aloud the names of the offenders, and the crimes imputed to them, summoned the seneschal to deliver them up to the jurisdiction of the church, and retreated from the court.

Sir Arnald le Poer and his friends had not been idle on their part, and the Bishop was next cited to defend himself against various charges in the parliament to be held at Dublin, while the Lady Alice indicted him in a secular court for defamation. The Bishop is represented as having narrowly escaped the snares which were laid for him on his

way to Dublin. He there found the Irish prelates not much inclined to advocate his cause, because they looked upon him as a foreigner and an interloper, and he was spoken of as a truant monk from England, who came thither to represent the "Island of Saints" as a nest of heretics, and to plague them with papal bulls of which they never heard before. It was, however, thought expedient to preserve the credit of the Church, and some of the more influential of the Irish ecclesiastics interfered to effect at least an outward reconciliation between the seneschal and the Bishop of Ossory. After encountering an infinity of new obstacles and disappointments, the latter at length obtained the necessary power to bring the alleged offenders to a trial, and most of them were imprisoned; but the chief object of the Bishop's proceedings, the Lady Alice, had been conveyed secretly away, and she is said to have passed the rest of her life in England. When her son, William Outlawe, was cited to appear before the Bishop in his court in the church of St. Mary at Kilkenny, he went "armed to the teeth" with all sorts of armour, and attended with a very formidable company, and demanded a copy of the charges objected against him, which extended through thirty-four chapters. He for the present was allowed to go at large, because nobody dared to arrest him; and when the officers of the crown arrived, they showed so openly their favour towards him, as to take up their lodgings at his house. At length, however, having been convicted in the Bishop's court at least of harbouring those accused of sorcery, he consented to go into prison, trusting, probably, to the secret protection of the great barons of the land.

The only person mentioned by name as punished for the extreme crime of sorcery was Petronilla de Meath, who was, perhaps, less provided with worldly interests to protect her, and who appears to have been made an expiatory sacrifice for her superiors. She was, by order of the Bishop, six times flogged, and then, probably to escape a further repetition of this cruel and degrading punishment, she made a public confession, accusing not only herself, but all the others against whom the Bishop had proceeded. She said, that in all England, "perhaps in the whole world," there was not a person more deeply skilled in the practices of sorcery than

the Lady Alice Kyteler, who had been their mistress and teacher in the art. She confessed to most of the charges contained in the Bishop's articles of accusation, and said that she had been present at the sacrifices to the demon, and had assisted in making the unguents of the intestines of the cocks offered on this occasion, mixed with spiders and certain black worms like scorpions, with a certain herb called millefoil, and other herbs and worms, and with the brains and clothes of a child that had died without baptism, in the manner before related; that with these unguents they had produced various effects upon different persons, making the faces of certain ladies appear horned like goats; that she had been present at the nightly conventicles, and with the assistance of her mistress had frequently pronounced the sentence of excommunication against her own husband, with all the ceremonies required by their unholy rites, and that she had been with the Lady Alice when demon, Robin Artisson, appeared to her. The wretched woman, having made this public confession, was carried out into the city, and publicly burnt. This, says the relater, was the first witch who was ever burnt in Ireland.

The rage of the Bishop of Ossory appears now to have been, to a certain degree, appeased. He was prevailed upon to remit the offences of William Outlawe, enjoining him, as a reparation for his contempt of the Church, that within the period of four years he should cover with lead the whole roof of his cathedral from the steeple eastward, as well as that of the chapel of the Holy Virgin. The rest of the Lady Alice's "pestiferous society" were punished in different ways, with more or less severity; one or two of them, we are told, were subsequently burnt; others were flogged publicly in the market-place and through the city; others were banished from the diocese; and a few, like their mistress, fled to a distance, or concealed themselves so effectually as to escape the hands of justice.

There was one person concerned in the foregoing events whom the Bishop had not forgotten nor forgiven. That was Arnald le Poer, the seneschal of Kilkenny, who had so strenuously advocated the cause of William Outlawe and his mother, and who had treated with so much rudeness the Bishop himself

The Latin narrative of this history, published for the Camden Society by the writer of this paper, gives no further information respecting him; hut we learn from other sources that the Bishop now accused him of heresy, had him excommunicated, and obtained a writ by which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Dublin. Here he remained in 1328, when Roger Outlawe was made Lord Justice of Ireland, who attempted to mitigate his sufferings. The Bishop of Ossory, enraged at the Lord Justice's humanity, accused him also of heresy and of abetting heretics; upon which a parliament was called, and the different accusations having been duly examined, Arnald le Poer himself would probably have been declared innocent and liberated from confinement, but before the end of the investigation he died in prison, and his body, lying under sentence of excommunication, remained long unburied.

The Bishop, who had been so great a persecutor of heresy in others, was at last accused of the same crime himself, and the case being laid before the Archbishop of Dublin, he appealed to the apostolic see, fled the country privately, and repaired to Italy. Subsequent to this, he appears to have experienced a variety of troubles, and he suffered banishment during nine years. He died at a very great age in 1360. The Bishop's party boasted that the "nest" of sorcerers which had infested Ireland was entirely rooted out by the prosecution of the Lady Alice Kyteler and her accomplices. It may, however, be well doubted if the belief in witchcraft were not rather extended by the publicity and magnitude of these events.

Ireland would no doubt afford many equally remarkable cases in subsequent times, had the chroniclers thought them as well worth recording as the process of a lady of rank, which involved some of the leading people in the English Pale, and which agitated the whole state during several successive years.—*Wright's Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, Vol. i.

AFRICAN WITCHES.

Obeah, a pretended sort of witchcraft, arising from a superstitious credulity, prevailing among the negroes, has ever been considered as a most dangerous practice, to suppress which, in our West India colonies, the severest laws have been enacted. The Obeah is considered as a potent and most irresistible spell, withering and paralyzing, by indescribable terrors and unusual sensations, the devoted victim. One negro who desires to be revenged on another, and is afraid to make an open and manly attack on his adversary, has usually recourse to this practice. Like the witches' cauldron in Macbeth, it is a combination of many strange and ominous things. Earth gathered from a grave, human blood, a piece of wood fastened in the shape of a coffin, the feathers of the carrion crow, a snake or alligator's tooth, pieces of egg-shell, and other nameless ingredients, compose the fatal mixture. The whole of these articles may not be considered as absolutely necessary to complete the charm, but two or three are at least indispensable.

Mr. Long gives the following account of the furniture of the house of an Obi-woman, or African witch, in Jamaica: "The whole inside of the roof (which was of thatch), and every crevice of the walls, were stuck with the implements of her trade, consisting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thousand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, close covered, contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay, of various dimensions, large and small, whitened on the outside, and variously compounded, some with hair and rags, or feathers of all sorts, and strongly bound with twine; others blended with the upper section of the skulls of cats, or set round with cats' teeth and claws, and with human or dogs' teeth, and some glass beads of different colours. There were also a great many egg-shells filled with a viscous or gummy substance, the qualities of which were neglected to be examined; and many little bags filled with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot, at this distance of time, be recollected." Shakespeare and Dryden have left us poetical accounts of the composition of European *Obies* or charms,

with which, and with more historical descriptions, the above may be compared. The midnight hours of the professors of Obi are also to be compared with the witches of Europe. Obi, therefore, is the serpent-worship. The Pythoness, at Delphos, was an Obi-woman. With the serpent-worship is joined that of the sun and moon, as the governors of the visible world, and emblems of human nature and of the god-head; and to the cat, on account of her nocturnal prowlings, is ascribed a mysterious relationship to the moon. The dog and the wolf, doubtless for the same reason, are similarly circumstanced.

It will of course be conceived that the practice of Obeah can have little effect unless a negro is conscious that it is practised upon him, or thinks so; for, as the whole evil consists in the terrors of a superstitious imagination, it is of little consequence whether it be practised or not if he only imagines that it is. But if the charm fails to take hold of the mind of the proscribed person, another and more certain expedient is resorted to—the secret administration of poison This saves the reputation of the sorcerer, and effects the purpose he had in view.

An Obeah man or woman (for it is practised by both sexes) is a very dangerous person on a plantation; and the practice of it is made felony by law, punishable with death where poison has been administered, and with transportation where only the charm has been used. But numbers have, and may be swept off by its infatuation before the crime is detected; for, strange as it may appear, so much do the negroes stand in awe of these Obeah professors, so much do they dread their malice and their power, that, though knowing the havoc they have made and are still making, they are afraid to discover them to the whites; and others, perhaps, are in league with them for sinister purposes of mischief and revenge.

A negro under the infatuation of Obeah can only be cured of his terrors by being made a Christian: refuse him this boon, and he sinks a martyr to imagined evils. A negro, in short, considers himself as no longer under the influence of this sorcery when he becomes a Christian. And instances are known of negroes who, being reduced by the fatal influence of Obeah to the lowest state of dejection and debility, from

which there were little hopes of recovery, have been surprisingly and rapidly restored to health and cheerfulness by being baptised Christians. The negroes believe also in apparitions, and stand in great dread of them, conceiving that they forebode death, or some other great evil, to those whom they visit,—in short, that the spirits of the dead come upon the earth to be revenged upon those who did them evil when in life. Thus we see that, not only from the remotest antiquity, but even among slaves and barbarians, the belief in supernatural agencies has been a popular creed,—not, in fact, confined to any distinct race or tribe of people; and, what is still more surprising, there is a singular and most remarkable identity in the notion or conception of their infernal ministry.

In the British West Indies, the negroes of the windward coast are called *Mandingoes*, a name which is here taken as descriptive of a peculiar race or nation. There seems reason, however, to believe that a *Mandingo* or *Mandinga*-man is properly the same with an Obi-man. A late traveller in Brazil gives us the following anecdotes of the *Mandinga* and *Mandingueiro* of the negroes in that country:—"One day," says Mr. Koster, "an old man (a negro named Apollinario) came to me with a face of dismay to show me a ball of leaves, tied up with a plant called *cypo*, which he had found under a couple of boards, upon which he slept, in an out-house. The ball was about the size of an apple. I could not imagine what had caused his alarm until he said that it was *Mandinga* which had been set for the purpose of killing him; and he bitterly bewailed his fate, that at his age any one should wish to hasten his death, and to carry him from this world, before our Lady thought fit to send him. I knew that two of the black women were at variance, and suspicion fell upon one of them, who was acquainted with the old *Mandingueiro* of Engenho Velho; therefore she was sent for. I judged that the *Mandinga* was not set for Apollonario, but for the negress whose business it was to sweep the out-house. I threatened to confine the suspected woman at Gara unless she discovered the whole affair. She said the Mandinga was placed there to make one of the negresses dislike her fellow slaves, and prefer her to the other. The ball of *Mandinga* was formed of five or six kinds of leaves of trees, among which was the pomegranate leaf; there were likewise two or

three bits of rag, each of a peculiar kind; ashes, which were the bones of some animals; and there might be other ingredients besides, but these were what I could recognise. This woman either could not from ignorance, or would not, give any information respecting the several things of which the ball was composed. I treated this matter of the *Mondinga* seriously, from knowing the faith which not only many of the negroes have in it, but also some of the mulatto people. There is another name for this kind of charm; it is called *feitiço*, and the initiated are called *feiteçeros*. Of these there was formerly one at the plantation of St. Joam, who became so much dreaded that his master sold him to be sent to Maranham."

It is remarkable that, while the etymology of *Obi* has been sought in the names of ancient deities of Egypt, and in that of the serpent in the language of the coast, the actual name of the evil deity, or *Devil*, in the same language appears to have escaped attention. That name is written by Mr. Edwards, *Obboney;* and the bearer of it is described as a malicious deity, the author of all evil, the inflictor of perpetual diseases, and whose anger is to be appeased only by human sacrifices. This evil deity is the Satan of our own faith; and it is the worship of Satan which, in all parts of the world, constitutes the essence of sorcery.

If this name of *Obboney* has any relation to the Ob of Egypt, and if the Ob, both anciently in Egypt, and to this day in the west of Africa, signifies "a serpent," what does this discover to our view but that Satan has the name of *serpent* among the Negro nations as well as among those of Europe? How it has happened that the serpent, which, in some systems, is the emblem of the good spirit, should in others be the emblem of the evil one, is a topic which belongs to a more extensive inquiry. This is enough for our present satisfaction, to remember that the profession of, and belief in sorcery or witchcraft, supposes the existence of two deities,—the one the author of good, and the other the author of evil; the one worshipped by good men for good things and good purposes, and the other by bad men for bad things and purposes; and that this worship is sorcery and the worshippers sorcerers.

It will be seen that, since African charms are to prevent

evil, and others to procure it, the first belong to the worship, and are derived from the power, of the good spirit; and the second are from the opposite source. It is to be concluded, then, that the superstition of *Obi* is no other than the practice of and belief in the worship of *Obboney* or *Oboni*, the evil deity of the Africans, the serpent of Africa and of Europe, and the old serpent and Satan of the Scriptures; and that the witchcraft of the negroes is evidently the same with our own. It might, indeed, be further shown that the latter have their temporary transformations of men into alligators, wolves, and the like; as the French have their loups-garoux, the Germans their war-wolves, wolf-men, and the rest.—*Thaumaturgia, or Elucidations of the Marvellous.*

VAMPIRES.

ACCOUNT OF A VAMPIRE, TAKEN FROM THE JEWISH LETTERS (LETTRES JUIVES), LETTER 137.

We have just had in this part of Hungary a scene of vampirism, which is duly attested by two officers of the tribunal of Belgrade, who went down to the places specified, and by an officer of the emperor's troops at Graditz, who was an ocular witness of the proceedings.

In the beginning of September there died in the village of Kisilova, three leagues from Graditz, an old man who was sixty-two years of age. Three days after he had been buried he appeared in the night to his son, and asked him for something to eat; the son having given him something, he ate and disappeared. The next day the son recounted to his neighbours what had happened. That night the father did not appear, but the following night he showed himself, and asked for something to eat. They know not whether the son gave him anything or not, but the next day he was found dead in his bed. On the same day five or six persons fell suddenly ill in the village, and died one after the other in a few days.

The officer or bailiff of the place, when informed of what had happened, sent an account of it to the tribunal of Bel-

grade, which despatched to the village two of these officers and an executioner to examine into this affair. The imperial officer from whom we have this account repaired thither from Graditz, to be witness of a circumstance which he had so often heard spoken of.

They opened the graves of those who had been dead six weeks. When they came to that of the old man, they found him with his eyes open, having a fine colour, with natural respiration, nevertheless motionless as the dead; whence they concluded that he was most evidently a vampire. The executioner drove a stake into his heart; they then raised a pile and reduced the corpse to ashes. No mark of vampirism was found either on the corpse of the son, or on the others.

Thanks be to God, we are by no means credulous. We avow that all the light which science can throw on this fact discovers none of the causes of it. Nevertheless, we cannot refuse to believe that to be true which is juridically attested, and by persons of probity. We will here relate what happened in 1732, and which is inserted in the *Glaneur*, No. XVIII.

OTHER INSTANCES OF GHOSTS—CONTINUATION OF THE GLEANER.

In a certain canton of Hungary, named in Latin *Oppida Heidanum*, beyond the Tibisk, *vulgo* Theiss,—that is to say, between that river which waters the fortunate territory of Tokay and Transylvania,—the people known by the name of *Heyducs* believe that certain dead persons, whom they call vampires, suck all the blood from the living, so that these become visibly attenuated, whilst the corpses, like leeches, fill themselves with blood in such abundance, that it is seen even oozing through the pores. This opinion has just been confirmed by several facts which cannot be doubted, from the rank of the witnesses who have certified them. We will here relate some of the most remarkable.

About five years ago, a certain Heyduc, inhabitant of Madreiga, named Arnald Paul, was crushed to death by the fall of a waggon-load of hay. Thirty days after his death four persons died suddenly, and in the same manner in which,

according to the tradition of the country, those die who are molested by vampires. They then remembered that this Arnald Paul had frequently related that, in the environs of Cassovia, and on the frontiers of Turkish Servia, he had often been tormented by a Turkish vampire; for they believe, also, that those who have been passive vampires during life become active ones after their death,—that is to say, that those who have been sucked suck also in their turn; but that he had found means to cure himself by eating earth from the grave of the vampire, and smearing himself with his blood,—a precaution which, however, did not prevent him from becoming also a vampire after his death, since, on being exhumed forty days after his interment, they found on his corpse all the indications of an arch-vampire. His body was red, his hair, nails, and beard had all grown again, and his veins were replete with fluid blood, which flowed from all parts of his body upon the winding-sheet which encompassed him. The Hadnagi, or baillie of the village, in whose presence the exhumation took place, and who was skilled in vampirism, had, according to custom, a very sharp stake driven into the heart of the defunct Arnald Paul, and which pierced his body through and through, which made him, as they say, utter a frightful shriek, as if he had been alive: that done, they cut off his head and burnt the whole body. After that they performed the same on the corpses of the four other persons who died of vampirism, fearing that they in their turn might cause the death of others.

All these performances, however, could not prevent the recommencement of similar fatal prodigies towards the end of last year (1732),—that is to say, five years after,—when several inhabitants of the same village perished miserably. In the space of three months seventeen persons of different sexes and different ages died of vampirism; some without being ill, and others after languishing two or three days. It is reported, amongst other things, that a girl named Stanoska, daughter of the Heyducq Jotiüsto, who went to bed in perfect health, awoke in the middle of the night in a great trembling, uttering terrible shrieks, and saying that the son of Heyducq Millo, who had been dead nine weeks, had nearly strangled her in her sleep. She fell into a languid state from that moment, and at the end of three days she

died. What this girl had said of Millo's son made him known at once for a vampire: he was exhumed, and found to be such. The principal people of the place, with the doctors and surgeons, examined how vampirism could have sprung up again after the precautions they had taken some years before.

They discovered at last, after much search, that the defunct Arnald Paul had killed not only the four persons of whom we have spoken, but also several oxen, of which the new vampires had eaten, and, amongst others, the son of Millo. Upon these indications they resolved to disinter all those who had died within a certain time, &c. Amongst forty, seventeen were found with all the most evident signs of vampirism; therefore they transfixed their hearts, and cut off their heads also, and then cast their ashes into the river.

All the informations and executions we have just mentioned were made juridically, in proper form, and attested by several officers who were garrisoned in the country, by the chief surgeons of the regiments, and by the principal inhabitants of the place. The verbal process of it was sent, towards the end of last January, to the Imperial Council of War at Vienna, which had established a military commission to examine into the truth of all these circumstances.

Such was the declaration of the Hadnagi Barriarar and the ancient Heyducqs, and it was signed by Battuer, first lieutenant of the regiment of Alexander of Wurtemburg, Clickstenger, surgeon-in-chief of the regiment of Frustemburch, three other surgeons of the company, and Guoichitz, captain at Stallach.—*Phantom World*, Vol. ii.

AMULETS AND CHARMS.

Boyle, says the author of the Demonologia, is persuaded that some of these external medicaments answer; for that, being himself subject to a bleeding from the nose, and obliged to use several remedies to check this discharge, he found the moss of a dead man's skull, though only applied so as to touch the skin until the

moss became warm from being in contact with it, to be the most efficacious remedy. A remarkable instance of this nature was communicated to Zwelfer, by the chief physician to the states of Moravia, who, having prepared some troches, or lozenges of toads, after the manner of Van Helmont, not only found that, being worn as amulets, they preserved him, his domestics, and friends from the plague, but that, when applied to the carbuncles or buboes, a consequence of this disease, in others, they found themselves greatly relieved, and many even saved by them.

The learned Dr. Warburton is evidently wrong when he assigns the origin of these magical instruments to the age of the Ptolemies, which was not more than 300 years before Christ. For Galen tells us that the Egyptian king, Nechepsus, who lived 630 years before the Christian era, had written that a green jasper cut into the form of a dragon surrounded with rays, if applied externally, would strengthen the stomach and organs of digestion. We have, moreover, the authority of the Scriptures in support of this opinion; for what were the ear-rings which Jacob buried under the oak of Sechem, as related in Genesis, but amulets? And we are informed by Josephus, in his Antiquities of the Jews (lib. viii. c. ii. v.), that Solomon discovered a plant efficacious in the cure of epilepsy, and that he employed the aid of a charm or spell for the purpose of assisting its virtues. The root of the herb was concealed in a ring, which was applied to the nostrils of the demoniac: and Josephus remarks that he himself saw a Jewish priest practise the art of Solomon with complete success in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, and the tribunes of the Roman army. Nor were such means confided to the dark and barbarous ages. Theophrastus pronounced Pericles to be insane, because he discovered that he wore an amulet about his neck; and in the declining era of the Roman Empire this superstitious custom was so general, that the Emperor Caracalla was induced to make a public edict, ordaining that no man should wear any superstitious amulets about his person.

Dr. Chamberlayne's anodyne necklace for a long time was the *sine quâ non* of mothers and nurses, until its virtue was

lost by its reverence being destroyed, and those which have succeeded it have nearly run their race. The Grey Liverwort was at one time thought not only to have cured hydrophobia, but, by wearing it about the person, to have prevented the bite of mad dogs. Calvert paid devotions to St. Hubert for the recovery of his son, who was cured by this means. The son also performed the necessary rites at the shrine, and was cured not only of the hydrophobia, "but of the worser frenzy with which his father had instilled him." Cramp rings were also used, and eel-skins tied round the limbs, to prevent this spasmodic affection; and sticks laid crosswise on the floor on going to bed have also performed the like service. Numerous are the charms, amulets, and incantations used even in the present day for the removal of warts. We are told by Lord Verulam (vol. iii. p. 234) that, when he was at Paris, he had above a hundred warts on his hands, and that the English ambassador's lady, then at court, and a woman far above superstition, removed them all by rubbing them with the fat side of the rind of a piece of bacon, which was afterwards nailed to a post with the fat side towards the south. "In five weeks," says my lord, "they were all removed."

As Lord Verulam is allowed to have been as great a genius as this country ever produced, it may not be irrelevant to the present subject to give, in his own words, what he has observed respecting the power of amulets. After deep metaphysical observations in nature, and arguments in palliation of sorcery, witchcraft, and divination, effects that far outstrip the belief in amulets, he observes, "We should not reject all of this kind, because it is not known how far those contributing to superstition depend on natural causes. Charms have not their power from contracts with evil spirits, but proceed wholly from strengthening the imagination, in the same manner that images and their influence have prevailed in religion; being called, from a different way of use and application, sigils, incantations, and spells.

There are many enthusiastic and equally credulous authors who have encouraged the belief in the reality of philters, and who adduce facts in confirmation of their opinions, as in all doubtful cases. Among these may

be quoted Van Helmont, who says that, by holding a certain herb in his hand, and afterwards taking a little dog by the foot with the same hand, the animal followed him wherever he went, and quite deserted his former master. He also adds that philters only require a confirmation of Mumia. [By Mumia is here understood that which was used by some ancient physicians for some kind of implanted spirit, found chiefly in carcases, when the infused spirit is fled; a kind of sympathetic influence, communicated from one body to another, by which magnetic cures, etc. were said to be performed.] On the principle of sympathetic influence he accounts for the phenomena of love transplanted by the touch of an herb; "for," says he, "the heat communicated to the herb, not coming alone, but animated by the emanations of the natural spirits, determines the herb towards the man, and identifies it to him. Having then received this ferment, it attracts the spirit of the other object magnetically, and gives it an amorous motion." But all this is mere absurdity, and has fallen to the ground with the other irrational hypothesis from the same source.—*Demonologia.*

ON THE ORIGIN AND SUPERSTITIOUS INFLUENCE OF RINGS.

According to the accounts of the heathen mythologists, Prometheus, who, in the first times, had discovered a great number of secrets, having been delivered from the charms by which he was fastened to Mount Caucasus for stealing fire from heaven, in memory or acknowledgment of the favour he received from Jupiter, made himself of one of those chains a ring, in whose collet he represented the figure of part of the rock where he had been detained,—or rather, as Pliny says, set it in a bit of the same rock, and put it on his finger. This was the first ring and the first stone. But we otherwise learn that the use of rings is very ancient, and the Egyptians were the first inventors of them; which seems confirmed by the person of Joseph, who, as we read (Genesis, chap. xi.) for having interpreted Pharaoh's dream, received not only his liberty, but was rewarded with his

prince's ring, a collar of gold, and the superintendency of Egypt.

Josephus, in the third Book of Jewish Antiquities, says the Israelites had the use of them after passing the Red Sea, because Moses, at his return from Mount Sinai, found that they had forged the golden calf from their wives' rings, enriched with precious stones. The same Moses, upwards of 400 years before the wars of Troy, permitted to the priests whom he had established the use of gold rings, enriched with precious stones. The high priest wore upon his ephod, which was a kind of camail, rich rings, that served as clasps: a large emerald was set and engraved with mysterious names. The ring he wore on his finger was of inestimable value and celestial virtue. Had not Aaron, the high priest of the Hebrews, a ring on his finger, whereof the diamond, by its virtues, operated prodigious things? For it changed its vivid lustre into a dark colour, when the Hebrews were to be punished by death for their sins. When they were to fall by the sword it appeared of a blood-red colour; if they were innocent it sparkled as usual.

It is observable that the ancient Hebrews used rings even in the time of the wars of Troy. Queen Jezebel, to destroy Nabath, as it is related in the first Book of Kings, made use of the ring of Ahab, King of the Israelites, her husband, to seal the counterfeit letters that ordered the death of that unfortunate man. Did not Judah, as mentioned in the 38th chapter of Genesis, give to his daughter-in-law, Thamar, who had disguised herself, his ring and bracelets as a pledge of the faith he had promised her.

Though Homer is silent in regard to rings, both in his Iliad and Odyssey, they were, notwithstanding, used in the time of the Greeks and Trojans, and from them they were received by several other nations. The Lacedemonians, as related by Alexander ab. Alexandro, pursuant to the orders of their king, Lycurgus, had only iron rings, despising those of gold: either their king was thereby willing to retrench luxury or to prohibit the use of them.

The ring was reputed by some nations a symbol of liberality, esteem, and friendship, particularly among the Persians, none being permitted to wear any except they were

given by the king himself. This is what may be also remarked in the person of Apolloneus Thyaneus, who, as a token of singular esteem and liberality, received one from the great Iarchas, prince of the Gymnosophists, who were the ancient priests of India, and, dwelt in forests, as our ancient bards and Druids, where they applied themselves to the study of wisdom, and to the observation of the heaven and the stars. This philosopher, by the means of that ring, learned every day the secrets of nature.

Though the ring found by Gyges, shepherd to the King of Lydia, has more of fable than of truth in it, it will not, however, be amiss to relate what is said concerning Herodotus Cœlius, after Plato and Cicero, in the third Book of his Offices. This Gyges, after a great flood, passed into a very deep cavity in the earth, where, having found in the belly of a brazen horse, with a large aperture in it, a human body of enormous size, he pulled off from one of the fingers a ring of surprising virtue; for the stone on the collet rendered him who wore it invisible, or when the collet was turned towards the palm of the hand, the party could see, without being seen, all manner of persons and things. Gyges, having made trial of its efficacy, bethought himself that it would be a means for ascending the throne of Lydia, and for gaining the queen to wife. He succeeded in his designs, having killed Candaules, her husband. The dead body to whom this ring belonged was that of an ancient Brahman, who, in his time, was chief of that sect.

In a Polyglot dictionary, published in the year 1625, by John Minshew, our attention was attracted by the following observations under the article "RING FINGER:"—"Vetus versiculus singulis digitis Annulum trebuens Miles, Mercator, Stultus, Maritus, Amator. Pollici adscribitur Militi, seu Doctor. Mercatorum à pollice secundum, stultorum, tertium. Nuptorum vel studiosorum quartum. Amatorum ultimum."

By which it appears that the fingers on which annuli were anciently worn were directed by the calling or peculiarity of the party. Were it

A soldier or doctor, to him was assigned the thumb;
A sailor, the finger next the thumb;

A fool, the middle finger;
A married or diligent person, the fourth or ring finger;
A lover, the last or little finger.

The medicinal or curative powers of rings are numerous, and, as a matter of course, founded on imaginary qualities. Thus the wedding ring rubbed upon that little abscess called the stye, which is frequently seen on the tarsi of the eyes, is said to remove it. Certain rings are worn as talismans, either on the fingers or suspended from the neck, the efficacy of which may be referred to the effects usually produced by these charms.—*Thaumaturgia.*

NARCOTICS.

There is reason to believe that the Pagan priesthood were under the influence of some narcotic during the display of their oracular powers; but the effects produced would seem rather to resemble those of opium, or perhaps of stramonium, than of prussic acid. Monardus tells us, that the priests of the American Indians, whenever they were consulted by their chiefs, or *caciques*, as they are called, took certain leaves of the tobacco, and cast them into the fire, and then received the smoke thus produced in their mouths, in consequence of which they fell down upon the ground; and that after having remained for some time in a stupor, they recovered, and delivered the answers, which they pretended to have received during their supposed intercourse with the world of spirits. The sedative powers of the garden lettuce were known in the earliest times. Among the fables of antiquity we read, that after the death of Adonis, Venus threw herself upon a bed of lettuces, to lull her grief. The sea-onion, or *squill*, was administered by the Egyptians in cases of dropsy, under the mystic title of the Eye of Typhon. The practices of incision and scarification were employed in the camp of the Greeks before Troy, and the application of spirit to wounds was also understood, for we find the experienced Nestor applying a

cataplasm, composed of cheese, onion, and meal, mixed up with the wine of Pramnos, to the wounds of Machaon.—*Demonologia.*

FAIRIES.

WELSH FAIRIES.

Amongst other tales connected with Pantshonshenkin, is the following:—

A young man had just quitted an adjacent farm-house early one fine summer's morning, when he heard a little bird singing in the most enchanting strain on a tree close by: allured by the melody, he sat down under it until the music ceased, when he arose, supposing a few minutes only had elapsed, but his surprise may well be imagined, when he saw the tree withered and barkless. Returning full of astonishment to the house, he found that changed too, and no one within but an old man whom he had never seen before. He asked him what he was doing there? upon which the old man abruptly enquired who was he that dared insult him in his own house? "In your own house! where's my father and mother," said he, "whom I left here a few minutes since, while I listened to the most charming music under yon tree, which, when I arose, was withered and leafless, and all things, too, seemed changed." "Under the tree!—music!—what is your name?" "John," said he. "Poor John," cried out the old man, "I heard my grandfather, who was your father, often speak of you, and long did he bewail your absence; fruitless enquiries were made of you, but old Catti Madlen, of Brechfa, said that you were under the power of fairies, and would not be released until the last sap of that sycamore tree was dried up." "Embrace, embrace, my dear uncle, your nephew!" The old man was about to embrace him, but he suddenly crumbled into dust!

In ancient days, a door in a rock near the lake was found open upon a certain day every year,—I think it was May-day; those who had the curiosity and resolution to enter, were conducted by a secret passage which terminated in a

small island in the centre of the lake: here the visitors were surprised with the prospect of a most enchanting garden, stored with choicest fruits and flowers, and inhabited by the Tylwyth Teg, or Fair Family, a kind of fairies, whose beauty could be equalled only by the courtesy and affability which they exhibited to those who pleased them: they gathered fruits and flowers for each of their guests, entertained them with the most exquisite music, disclosed to them many secrets of futurity, and invited them to stay as long as they should find their attention agreeable; but the island was secret, and nothing of the produce must be carried away. The whole of this scene was invisible to those who stood without the margin of the lake; only an indistinct mass was seen in the middle, and it was observed that no bird would fly over the water, and that a soft strain of music at times breathed with rapturous sweetness in the breeze of the morning.

It happened upon one of these annual visits that a sacrilegious wretch, when about to leave the garden, put a flower, with which he had been presented, in his pocket; but the theft boded him no good. As soon as he had touched unhallowed ground, the flower vanished, and he lost his senses. Of this injury the Fair Family took no notice at the time; they dismissed their guests with their accustomed courtesy, and the door was closed as usual, but their resentment ran high, for though, as the tale goes, the Tylwyth Teg and their garden undoubtedly occupy the spot to this day, though the birds still keep at a respectful distance from the lake, and some broken strains of music are still heard at times, yet the door which led to the island was never reopened, and from the date of this sacrilegious act, the Cymry have been unfortunate.

Some time after this, an adventurous person attempted to draw off the water, in order to discover its contents, when a terrific form arose from the midst of the lake, commanding him to desist, or otherwise he would drown the country.—*Cambrian Superstitions.*

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

Amongst the various mysterious manifestations that have been treated of in the preceding pages, few have created more attention than the so-called spiritual manifestations; which, originating in America, have yet not been wholly confined to that continent. It will be our endeavour to give the reader, first, a succinct and impartial narrative of the movement; and, secondly, by the help of kindred phenomena we may somewhat attempt to elucidate the mystery.

This movement originated in the village of Hydesville, township of Arcadia, Wayne county, New York, at the close of March, 1848, or, more accurately, on the 11th of Dec. 1847. A Mr. Michael Weekman was troubled about this period with knockings, without being able to detect their cause. Soon after this his house was occupied by Mr. John D. Fox, of Rochester, when the disturbance increased and varied in character, assuming the form of moving chairs, etc., without any apparent cause. At length the raps assumed a certain regularity, and responded to the knocks or questions of the family, till an alphabetic and telegraphic correspondence was established between members of the Fox family and the mysterious invisible agent. Two daughters of Mrs Fox appear to have been the principal media in the communications thus far; and to these was added shortly afterwards a widowed daughter of Mrs. Fox, named Mrs. Fish. One Margaretta Fox, aged fourteen, proceeding on a visit to Mrs. Fish at Rochester, the sounds accompanied her as if they "had packed the thing among the beds." The intelligence of these phenomena spread rapidly, and created a great sensation; public meetings were held, and committees examined the question without arriving at any solution. The manifestations were ultimately heard even at the house of a wealthy resident at Rochester, Mr. Grainger, without the presence of either Mrs. Fish or her sister.

The movement extended very speedily throughout the Union; indeed, the rapidity of its diffusion is almost without a parallel in the history of the development of religious truths or delusions.

In 1852, Philadelphia alone reckoned three hundred circles or channels of communication between the known and the unknown; and it was calculated that in September, 1853, there were thirty thousand media in the United States.

Before we dismiss the Fox family, it is as well to observe that, even amid conflicting accounts, respectable authorities in the United States vouch for the perfect honesty and good faith of the Fox family. It is true that one opponent arose threatening to demolish them, but they weathered the storm. Mrs. Culver, a connection of the family, endeavoured to expose the whole trick, by stating that Catherine Fox had taught her the way in which the sounds were produced with her toes. Unfortunately, many of Mrs. Culver's statements were subsequently found to be falsehoods, and she seems to have been gifted with a remarkably inventive faculty: hence the success of the Fox family and the movement was not affected by her disclosures. Other difficulties were started by some opponents, who professed to be able to make the same sounds with their knee and ankle-joints.

Leaving the Foxes, we have to remark that two years subsequently similar occurrences took place in the house of a Dr. Phelps, at Stratford, Connecticut. This gentleman, who is a Presbyterian minister, is said to enjoy the reputation of being a most worthy, intelligent, and upright man. We cannot enter into the particulars of his case, but it will suffice to say that all kinds of extraordinary phenomena disturbed his residence, which he and his numerous visitors professed themselves incapable of accounting for by any known agency; that he met with much annoyance and persecution on this subject, that he threw his house open to all visitors, challenged enquiry, and at length offered to present his house and all it contained to any one who would detect the cause. Among innumerable singular and unaccountable manifestations, we can only find space to introduce the following statement of Dr. Phelps:—I have seen things in motion more than a thousand times, and in most cases where no visible power existed by which the motion could have been produced. There have been broken from my windows *seventy-one panes of glass*, more than thirty of which I have seen break with my own eyes. I have seen

objects, such as brushes, tumblers, candlesticks, snuffers, etc. which but a few minutes before I knew to be at rest, fly against the glass and dash it to pieces, where it was utterly impossible, from the direction in which they moved, that any visible power should have caused their motion. As to the reality of the facts, they can be proved by testimony a hundred-fold greater than is ordinarily required in our courts of justice in cases of life and death."

It would be foreign to our purpose to enter into a circumstantial narration of the movement. It will be quite sufficient to give a brief statement of the convictions held by the advocates of this movement, of the various forms of manifestation recently developed, and of the most singular cases on record.

As the movement gradually progressed, it naturally excited the greatest attention, and became ultimately united with certain religious convictions that have rapidly spread notwithstanding, or perhaps in consequence of, much persecution. Many of the earlier media or vehicles of these communications, persons whose peculiar nervous and electric temperament was thought to favour intercourse with departed spirits, asserted, and their friends confirmed the fact, that these invisible powers, by certain distinct knockings, corresponding to the place of the letters in the alphabet, were able to convey messages. Such was the initial and elementary form of spiritual communication, of which more will be said presently. By means of this correspondence it was asserted that messages were conveyed from departed spirits, some of an admonitory, others of a consolatory character. These messages differed according to circumstances, as would be natural, proceeding from the necessary diversities of character in earthly or disembodied spirits. Some messages were of a sublime tendency, some indifferent, more puerile, and but few, if any, morally injurious. In dogmatical and theological matters the messages also varied, but commonly agreed in teaching naturalistic faith; in denouncing the tyranny and selfishness of certain churches; in condemning the dreadful doctrines of hell and damnation; in enforcing brotherly love, purity, charity, and truthfulness; and in directing persevering efforts to spread [this new re-

formation. The messages proceeded to assert that a new era is dawning on mankind, when more familiar intercourse with the world of spirits would be held; that the progress man has made in science and wisdom is preparing for this happy consummation; and that it has been the researches of scientific spirits, especially Franklin's, which have discovered the means of holding intercourse with the children of earth through the medium of powerful vital electro-magnetic currents! With regard to the question of the utility of these manifestations, many messages appear to describe them as sent to comfort the mourner, to convert the sceptic, and to heal the diseased; and it is said that this assertion has been extensively justified by experience in America.

The manifestations first took the form of rappings; but these rappings assumed protean forms. They would occur inside and outside a door together, at opposite doors simultaneously, on the floor, on the walls, when the feet of the media were isolated on glass stools, etc., and many knocks with various sounds would occur at the same time in the same table. But the rappings, it is said, soon became the least remarkable of the phenomena. Musical media, writing media, bird media, etc. etc. we are assured have been since developed. Media with no taste for music, when impressed, would play well on the piano; others would paint creditably who had no knowledge of the art; pianos and violoncellos would play of themselves, without visible contact; and the hand and pen of media would write various messages mechanically, without any effort of volition or thought. The minds of the media would be impressed with important messages and interesting scenes, partaking of the nature of clairvoyance and prevision; writing would take place without human agency; tables, furniture, etc. would move with and without contact, in opposition to great pressure, and with tremendous force. A very humble phase of these developments has crossed the Atlantic, and visited the conservative countries in Europe under the form of table-turning. The bigots have fancied they detected satanic agency in the novelty and the mystery of this movement; Professor Faraday, and other scientific men,

have explained all by involuntary muscular action, though the believers in these marvels assure us that there are scores of well-attested cases, where no muscle was within three, or even six, feet of the moving tables; and, in short, as usual with all new and unaccountable phenomena, it has been hushed up or laughed down.

Our space will not permit us to dwell on all the singular forms of development presented by this movement; but it will be obvious to the reader, from what has been said, that the dancing tables, as the French style them, present a remarkable analogy to the epidemic called St. Vitus's Dance, in the middle ages; and that whatever the cause of these singular movements—whether it be subjective or objective—it is evidently a psychological as well as a physiological phenomenon, and that all attempted explanations that keep to bone and muscle will fail to solve the mystery. As it will be our endeavour presently to offer some additional elucidations on this point, we shall confine ourselves for the moment to a farther consideration of the most striking recent manifestations in America. And here we cannot do better than cite the authority and follow the statements of Judge Edmonds, a man of high integrity and intelligence, but evidently of a highly nervous temperament, and who has been expelled from the American Senate for his advocacy of spiritualism.

It was in January, 1851, that the attention of Judge Edmonds was first directed to the subject of Spiritual Intercourse. He was at that time withdrawn from society, and labouring under great depression of spirits. He occupied his leisure in reading on the subject of death, and man's existence afterwards. He had heard so many conflicting and contradictory opinions on this suject from the pulpit, that he hardly knew what to believe: he was anxiously seeking to know if after death we should again meet those whom we had loved here. In this uncertainty he was invited by a friend to witness the "Rochester Knockings." He complied, more to please his friend and as a diversion, than for any other purpose. He was a good deal impressed by what he witnessed, and determined to investigate the matter thoroughly. If it were a delusion or

a deception, he thought that he could detect it. For four months he devoted two evenings in the week to witnessing the phenomenon in all its phases. He kept a careful record of all he witnessed, and from time to time compared his notes to detect contradictions and inconsistencies. He read all books on the subject that he could procure, especially such as professed to be exposures of the humbug. He went from place to place, seeing different mediums, meeting with different parties of persons, often with persons whom he had never met before, and sometimes where he was himself entirely unknown—sometimes in the dark, and sometimes in the light,—often with inveterate unbelievers, and more frequently with zealous believers. In fine, he availed himself of every opportunity that was afforded, thoroughly to sift the matter to the bottom. All this time he was a sceptic, and tried the patience of believers sorely by his obdurate refusal to yield his belief. He saw around him some who yielded a ready faith after one or two sittings; others, under the same circumstances, avowing a determined unbelief; some refused to witness anything, and yet remained confirmed sceptics. Judge Edmonds would not imitate either of these parties, but refused to yield, unless upon most irrefragable testimony. At length the evidence came, and to his mind, in such force, that no sane man could withhold his faith.

The question hitherto uninvestigated by him was, whether what he saw was produced by mere mortal means, or by some invisible unknown agency: in short, if it were deception, or produced by some unknown cause. He proceeds to give a general idea of what commonly characterised his hypothetical interviews, numbering several hundred already. Most of them took place in the presence of others. He preserved the names of the witnesses, but generally refuses to publish them, to avoid their incurring the obloquy and persecution that he has personally endured. He asserts that the following considerations grow out of the facts:—1st, that he has thus very many witnesses whom he can invoke to confirm the truth of his statements; and 2ndly, that if he has been deceived and did not see what he thought he saw, his delusion has been shared

by many as intelligent, honest, and enlightened persons as can be found in the Union.

His attention was first called to the manifestations by the rappings, the then most usual, and now the most inconsiderable mode of intercourse. He was naturally suspicious of deception, and at first trusted to his senses and the conclusions drawn by his intellect from their evidence. But he was at a loss to account for the media causing what he witnessed under the following circumstances: the media walking the length of a suite of parlours, forty or fifty feet, and the rappings being distinctly heard five or six feet behind them, the whole distance, backward and forward several times; being heard near the top of a mahogany door above where the medium could reach, and as if struck hard with a fist; being heard on the bottom of a carriage when travelling on a railroad, and on the floor and the table, when seated in court, at an eating-house and by the side of the road; being heard at different parts of the room, sometimes several feet distant from the medium, and where he could not reach,—sometimes on the table, and immediately after on the floor, and then at different parts of the table, in rapid succession, enabling the spectators and auditors to feel the vibration, as well as hear the sounds,—sometimes when the hands and feet of the medium were both firmly and carefully held by some one of the party, and sometimes on a table when no one touched it.

After depending on his senses as to these various phases of the phenomena, Judge Edmonds had recourse to the aid of science with the help of an accomplished electrician and his apparatus, besides which eight or ten intelligent, educated persons, examined the matter. They continued their investigation for several days, and established to their perfect satisfaction two things,—first, that the sounds were not generated by the agency of any present or near them; second, that they were not forthcoming at their will and pleasure.

Meanwhile another feature attracted his attention,—*i. e.* the physical manifestations, as they are termed. Thus the Judge affirms that he has known a deal table with four legs lifted bodily from the floor, in the centre of a circle of six or eight persons, turned upside down and laid on its top at

their feet, then lifted up over their heads, and put leaning against the back of the sofa on which they sat. He adds that he has known that same table to be lifted up on two legs, its top at an angle with the floor of 45 degrees, when it neither fell over of itself, nor could any person present put it back on its four legs. He states that he has seen a mahogany table having only a centre leg, and with a lamp burning upon it, lifted from the floor at least a foot, in spite of the efforts of those present, and shaken backwards and forwards as one would shake a goblet in his hand, and the lamp retain its place, though the glass pendants rang again. He has seen the same table tipped up, with the same lamp upon it, so far that the lamp must have fallen off unless retained there by something else than its own gravity; yet it neither fell nor stirred. He has known a dinner bell taken from a high shelf in a closet, rung over the heads of four or five persons in that closet, then rung around the room over the heads of twelve or fifteen persons in the back parlour, and then borne through the folding doors to the farther end of the front parlour, and there dropped on the floor. He has frequently known persons pulled about with a force which it was impossible for them to resist, and once when all his own strength was added in vain to that of the person thus influenced. He has known a mahogany chair thrown on its side and moved rapidly backwards and forwards without any person touching it, through a room in which at least a dozen people were seated, yet nobody was touched; and it repeatedly stopped within a few inches of the judge when it was coming with a velocity which, if not arrested, must have broken his legs!

The judge affirms that this is not a hundredth part of what he has witnessed, but enough to show the general character of what he has seen. Yet he adds that he has heard of yet more extraordinary transactions from others whose testimony would be credited in any human transaction.

During this time Judge Edmunds read the exposures and explanations of the humbug, and declares that he could not but smile at the rashness and futility of the explanations; for while some learned professors were chuckling on having detected the secret in the toe and knee-joints, the manifestations at New York changed to ringing a bell placed under the table.

Thus far our authority has confined himself to what he witnessed in the presence of others. He has preferred, he says, not to subject his individual veracity to the judgment of those who would have persecuted Galileo for discovering the planetary system, and have united in the cry of "folly" at Fulton's steamboat, "humbug" at Morse's telegraph, and "insanity" at Grey's iron road.

Having by patient inquiry satisfied himself on this point, the Judge proceeded to inquire whence comes the intelligence that is behind it all; for he considers that intelligence as a remarkable feature of the phenomenon. He states that he has known mental questions answered—*i. e.* questions merely framed in the mind of the interrogator, and not revealed by him or known to others. Before joining a circle he has often prepared a series of questions, and found them answered in the same order without his having even taken a memorandum of them in his pocket. His most secret thoughts—those which he has never uttered to mortal man or woman—have been as freely replied to as if he had uttered them. Purposes which he has secretly entertained have been publicly revealed, and he has been repeatedly admonished that his every thought could be disclosed by the intelligence manifesting itself.

He has heard the media use Greek, Latin, Spanish, and French words, when they knew no language but their own; and he asserts that it is a well-attested fact that there has been much talking and writing in tongues with which the media were unacquainted.

Judge Edmonds meets the objection of all these latter phenomena being perhaps only the reflection of the minds of the circle, by stating that facts were often communicated, unknown then, but afterwards found to be true. Also thoughts have been uttered on subjects not then in his mind, and utterly at variance with his views.

"These are not apocryphal cases," observes the Judge; "the parties are at hand, and in our very midst, and any person that pleases may make the investigation as I have done."

But all this, and much more of a cognate nature, goes to show, in the opinion of our authority, that there is

a high order of intelligence involved in this new phenomenon—an intelligence beyond mere mortal agency.

He directed his attention to this inquiry, devoting all his leisure hours for more than two years to the task. He went from circle to circle, from medium to medium, seeking knowledge on all hands on the subject, either from books or observations, and bringing to bear on the subject all the acuteness with which he had been gifted by nature, and which, we might suppose, had been sharpened by his professional experience.

He states that there were many ways in which this secret intelligence communed with them besides the rappings and table-liftings, and that through those other modes there came very many communications remarkable for their eloquence, their high order of intellect, and their pure and lofty moral tone, at the same time that he discovered many inconsistencies and contradictions calculated to mislead, and that he endeavoured to elicit something valuable from this chaos. He refers the public to his book in evidence of his success.

To such as imagine that he overrates the importance of the subject, he replies that scarcely four years have elapsed since the Rochester knockings were first known in America. Then media could be counted by units, but now by thousands; then believers could be numbered by hundreds, now by tens of thousands. It is believed by the best informed that the whole number in the United States must be several hundred thousand, and that in New York and its vicinity there must be from twenty-five to thirty thousand. There are ten or twelve newspapers and periodicals, some of which have already attained a circulation of more than ten thousand copies. Besides the undistinguished multitude, there are many men of high standing and talent ranked among them,—doctors, lawyers, and clergymen in great numbers, a Protestant bishop, the learned and reverend president of a college, judges of their higher courts, members of Congress, foreign ambassadors, and ex-members of the National Senate.

It is the opinion of Judge Edmonds that a movement which has spread with such marvellous celerity, in spite of

the ridicule which has deterred so many from an open avowal, and which has attracted the attention of so many of the best minds among the Americans, cannot be unworthy of investigation. Judge Edmonds originally went into the inquiry considering the whole a deception, and intending to publish his exposure of it; but, having arrived at a different conclusion, he felt the obligation to be equally important to make the result known.

Such is a brief summary of the defence of himself, and of the movement by its most able and eminent advocate. We shall only add a few facts from other sources to this statement.

There are other authenticated facts open to scrutiny, among the most striking of which we will allude to the following:—The witness, a Mr. John B. Wolf, visiting at the house of Mr. J. Koons, at Ushfield, Dover Township, Athens County, Ohio, wrote Nov. 5, 1853, saying—"I have had one extended and one brief interview with spirits. I have again seen them, talked with them, and shook hands with them as really and *substantially* as one man shakes hands with another.... Again, writing was done without human hands; and, indeed, volumes are written in this way, and in no other way. During the circle's continuance the hand is visible while the writing is done; the pencil and paper are also visible,—visible alike to believer and sceptic." Remarkable phenomenon, certainly, and very useful to authors if these communications were good for anything!

At the Spiritual Conference at Dodsworth's Hall on the 29th of February, 1853, it was stated by a Mr. Whittaker, of Troy, *who knew the fact to be true*, that a medium residing in that city being at one time indisposed, was ordered by the spirits to take at a single dose one hundred grains of arsenic in a mixture of lemon-juice and spirits of nitre; and that he took the prescription according to the direction, and, so far from experiencing any inconvenience, was greatly benefited by it!

A Mr. Henry Gordon, a well-known medium for spiritual manifestations, being at a circle in New York one evening, was repeatedly raised from his seat and carried through the air without any visible power touching him.

Many witnesses affirm that the laws of gravity are often suspended by these unknown powers, that things otherwise hurtful are rendered innocuous by some invisible agency, that material objects are displaced and removed to immense distances without any traceable cause, that inveterate maladies have been rapidly and easily cured, and, in short, that phenomena are constantly occurring which former ages would have reckoned supernatural.

A word must be said regarding table-turnings, which are the most elementary of all the manifestations, and those best known in England. Evangelical clergymen, and French Catholics in England, have found that tables maintained doctrines conformable to their education, and that they have mutually anathematized each other like good Christians. In these cases it must be admitted that appearances favour the view that the reverend gentlemen charged the tables, and converted them into passive vehicles of their respective views, and that, if any evil spirits were present, they must have been incarnate in the orthodox operations.

But table-moving has been so superficially treated in Europe that we must go to America to embrace the whole scope of the question. There we find that tables are not only moved when no mortal hand is within twenty feet of them, but raised from the floor, out of the reach of any person, turned upside-down, or revolve with extreme velocity, carrying heavy men seated upon them. It might be imagined that these phenomena, resting on the evidence of countless respectable witnesses, point to a new and mysterious locomotive force.

Various attempts have been made to solve this problem, but as yet no full solution has been found. The theory of muscular or involuntary pressure is supposed by many good authorities to be disproved by undeniable facts. To suppose them merely to be delusion or deception is in many cases equally unjust, though fraud has undoubtedly been mixed up with them, as with all popular movements. If the phenomena cannot be referred to ponderable, it is as difficult to account for them by imponderable matter alone, unless we give intelligence to these forces. Hence the inquirer is drawn from one position to another, till he has

no refuge save in the labyrinth of psychology, which is tantamount to having no explanation at all; and here, even, the difficulty occurs as to whether the phenomena are self-originated and spontaneous, or come from other intelligences. And after all, we are reduced to admit that it would be vain, with our present imperfect knowledge of the question, to pronounce a judgment on its cause. We do not, however, encounter so much difficulty when we trace the characteristics of its development to what have been styled the psychological epidemics of past ages.

A case of psychological sympathy has recently occurred in Europe, which, by its connection with spirituality and pure morality, may be viewed as a more satisfactory, though still an imperfect, illustration of the manifestations in America.

That portion of Southern Sweden formerly called Smäland, and which now comprises the provinces of Kalmar, Wexio, and Jön Kopping, though one of the poorest parts of the kingdom, is inhabited by a laborious and contented people. Their lot, which is one of extreme suffering and privation, is rendered endurable to them by their natural simplicity of character and deep religious feeling. About sixty years ago a very strong religious movement took place among them, which, for political reasons or otherwise, government thought fit to put a violent stop to, and with great difficulty it was done. Whether there be a predisposition among these simple but earnest people for religious excitement we cannot tell; but certain it is that, at the commencement of 1842, the singular phenomenon of which we are about to speak made its appearance among them, and, from its rapid spread, and apparently contagious character, and from the peculiar nature of its manifestations, it was popularly called the Preaching Epidemic.

Dr. J. A. Butsch, Bishop of Skara, in Westgöthland, wrote a long letter on this subject to Dr. C. F. Wingärd, Archbishop of Upsala, and Primate of all Sweden, which letter is considered so perfect an authority on the matter, that it is published in an appendix to Archbishop Wingärd's "Review of the Church of Christ," an excellent little work, which has been translated into English by G. W. Carlsen, late Chaplain to the Swedish Embassy in London, a gentleman of

great erudition and accomplishments. To this letter we shall have frequent occasion to refer.

The reader will naturally ask, as the Bishop himself does, what is the Preaching Epidemic? What it really was nobody as yet has been able to say. Among the peasantry, the most general belief was, "that it was an immediate divine miracle, in order to bestow grace on such as were afflicted with the disease, and as a means of warning and exhortation to those who saw and heard the patients. Among others, somewhat above the class of peasants, many denied altogether the existence of the disease, declaring the whole to be either intentional deception, in the desire of gain or notoriety; or else self-delusion, produced partly by an overstrained religious feeling, or by that passion of imitation which is common to the human mind. The Bishop himself was of opinion that it was a disease originally physical, but affecting the mind in a peculiar way: he arrived at this conclusion by attentively studying the phenomenon itself. At all events, bodily sickness was an ingredient in it, as was proved from the fact, that although every one affected by it, in describing the commencement of their state, mentioned a spiritual excitement as its original cause, close examination proved that an internal bodily disorder, attended by pain, had preceded or accompanied this excitement. Besides, there were persons who, against their own will, were affected by the quaking fits, which were one of its most striking early outward symptoms, without any previous religious excitement; and these, when subjected to medical treatment, soon recovered.

The Bishop must have been a bold man, and not afraid of ridicule; for, though writing to an archbishop, he says that though he will not give the disease a name, still he will venture to express an opinion, which opinion is, that the disease corresponds very much with what he has heard and read respecting the effects of animal magnetism. He says that he carefully studied the effect of sulphur and the magnet upon several sick persons, and found the symptoms of the Preaching Epidemic to correspond with the effect of animal magnetism as given in Kluge's "Versuch einer Darstellung des animalischen Magnetismus als Heilmittel." In both

cases there was an increase of activity of the nervous and muscular system; and, further, frequent heaviness in the head, heat at the pit of the stomach, prickling sensation in the extremities, convulsions and quakings; and, finally, the falling, frequently with a deep groan, into a profound fainting fit or trance. In this trance, the patient was in so perfect a state of insensibility to outward impressions, that the loudest noise or sound would not awaken him, nor would he feel a needle thrust deeply into his body. Mostly, however, during this trance, he would hear questions addressed to him, and reply to them; and, which was extraordinary, invariably in these replies applied to everyone the pronoun *thou*. The power of speech, too, in this state, was that of great eloquence, lively declamation, and the command of much purer language than was usual, or apparently possible, for him in his natural state. The invariable assertions of all the patients, when in this state, were, that they were exceedingly well, and that they had never been so happy before; they declared that the words they spoke were given to them by some one else, who spoke by them. Their disposition of mind was pious and calm; they seemed disposed for visions and predictions. Like the early Quakers, they had an aversion to certain words and phrases, and testified in their preaching against places of amusement, gaming, excess in drinking, may-pole festivities, gay clothing, and the crooked combs which the peasant women wear in their hair, and which, no doubt, were objects of vanity and display.

There was in some families a greater liability to this strange influence than in others; it was greater also in children and females than in grown-up people and men; and amongst men, those of a sanguine, choleric temperament were most susceptible. The patients invariably showed a strong desire to be together, and seemed to feel a sort of attraction or spiritual affinity to each other. In places of worship, they would all sit together; and it was remarked that when a person afflicted with the preaching epidemic was questioned about the disease in himself, individually, he always gave his answer on behalf of them all; and thus said "*we*" when the inquirer naturally expected "*I!*"

From these facts the learned bishop infers that the preaching epidemic belonged to that class of operations which have been referred to animal magnetism. He says, that "whatever may be the cause of this singular agency or influence, no doubt exists of its always producing a religious state of mind, which was strengthened by the apparently miraculous operations from within. He goes then into the question, whether the religious impression produced be in accordance with the established notions of the operations of "grace on the heart," and decides this not to be the case, because the excited person, immediately after he begins to quake, experiences an unspeakable peace, joy, and blessedness, not on account of new-born faith, through atoning grace, but by a certain immediate and miraculous influence from God. These are the bishop's own words. But with the polemical question we have nothing to do. However, the bishop goes on to say, that "whatever the origin of the disease may be, it characterizes itself by Christian language, and makes its appearance with many truly Christian thoughts and feelings;" and that "probably the disease has universally met with something Christian, previously implanted in the heart, to which it has, in an exciting way, allied itself."

With respect to the conduct and conversation of the patients during the time of their seizure, he says he never saw anything improper, although many strange rumours to the contrary were circulated and believed, to the great disadvantage of the poor people themselves. In the province of Elfsborg, where the disease prevailed to a great extent, bands of children and young people under its influence went about singing what are called Zion's hymns, the effect of which was singularly striking, and even affecting. He says, that "to give a complete and detailed description of the nature of the disease would be difficult, because, like 'animal magnetism,'—we use his own words—"it seems to be infinite in its modification and form." In the above-mentioned province of Elfsborg, it was often said, "such and such a person has began to quake, but he has not as yet dropped down, nor has seen visions, nor has preached."

This quaking, of which so much is said, appear to have been the first outward sign of the influence, the inward

vision and the preaching being its consummation; though, when this consummation was reached, the fit mostly commenced by the same sign. Nevertheless, in some patients, the quaking decreased in proportion to the strength which the disease gained. These quakings also seem to have come on at the mention of certain words, the introduction of certain ideas or the proximity of certain persons or things, which in some mysterious manner appeared inimical or unholy to the patient. Sometimes, also, those very things and words which at first affected the patient ceased to do so as he advanced to the higher stages of the disease; and other words or things which hitherto had produced no effect, began to agitate him in the same way. One of the patients explained this circumstance thus—that according as his spiritual being advanced upwards, "he found that there existed in himself, and in the world, many things which were worse than that which previously he had considered as the worst." In some cases, the patients were violently affected by the simple words "yes" and "no;" the latter word in particular was most painful and repulsive to them, and has frequently been described by them as "one of the worst demons, tied with the chains of darkness in the deepest abyss." It was remarked also that they frequently acted as if they had a strong temptation to speak falsehood, or to say more than they were at liberty to say. They would therefore exhort each other to speak the truth; and so frequently answered dubiously, and even said they did not know, when a contrary answer might have been confidently expected, that an unpleasant impression was frequently produced on the mind of the hearer; and some persons imbibed from this very circumstance unfavourable ideas of their truthfulness, when, in fact, this very caution and hesitation was a peculiarity of the disease.

In the province of Skaraborg, the bishop says he has seen several persons fall at once into the trance, without any preparatory symptom. In the province of Elfsborg, the patients preached with their eyes open, and standing; whilst in his own province of Skaraborg, he himself saw and heard them preaching in a recumbent posture, and with closed eyes, and altogether, as far as he could discover, in a state

of perfect insensibility to outward impressions. He gives an account of three preaching girls in the parish of Warnham, of ages varying from eight to twelve. This account, but principally as relates to one of them, we will lay before the reader.

It was shortly before the Christmas of 1842, when he went, together with a respectable farmer of the neighbourhood, the Rev. Mr. Zingvist, and the Rev. Mr. Smedmark, to the cottage where a child lived, who by all accounts had advanced to the highest stage of the disease. Many persons besides himself and his friends were present. As regards all the three children, he says, that for their age, as is generally the case in Sweden, they were tolerably well-informed on religious matters, and could read well. They were naturally of good disposition, and now, since they had been subject to the disease, were remarkable for their gentleness and quiet demeanour. Their manners were simple as those of peasant children, but, being bashful and timid, were not inclined to give much description of their feelings and experience; still, from the few words they spoke, it was evident that, like the rest of the peasantry and their own relatives, they considered it a divine influence, but still asserted that they knew not exactly what to think, either of themselves or of their situations. When in the trance, they declared that they were exceedingly well; that they never had been so cheerful, or felt so much pleasure before. On being awoke, however, they complained, sometimes even with tears, of weakness in the limbs, pain in the chest, headache, etc.

In the particular case of the one child to which we have referred, the symptoms were precisely the same: there came on, in the first place, a violent trembling or quaking of the limbs, and she fell backwards with so much violence as to give the spectator a most painful sensation; but no apparent injury ensued. The patient was now in the trance, or state of total unconsciousness; and this trance, which lasted several hours, divided itself into two stages, acts or scenes, totally different in character. In the first place, she rose up violently, and all her actions were of a rapid and violent character. She caught at the hands of the people round her; some she instantly flung aside, as if the effect produced

by them was repugnant to her; others she held gently, patted and rubbed softly; and these the people called "good hands." Sometimes she made signs, as if she were pouring out something, which she appeared to drink; and it was said by her father and another man present, that she could detect any one in the company who had been dram-drinking; and she would in this way represent every glass he had taken. She went through—for what purpose it seems impossible to say—the operation of loading, presenting, and firing a gun, and performed most dramatically a pugilistic combat, in which she alone sustained and represented the action of both parties; she likewise acted the part of a person dressing; and what rendered all this most extraordinary was, that though she was but a simple, bashful, peasant child, clad in her peasant's dress—a sheep-skin jacket—yet all her actions and movements were free, and full of the most dramatic effect: powerful and vigorous when representing manly action, and so indescribably graceful and easy, and full of sentiment, when personating female occupations, as to amaze the more cultivated spectators; and, as the bishop says, "to be far more like the motions of an image in a dream, than a creature of flesh and blood." Another circumstance is peculiar: although these children differed from each other in their natural state, yet, while under the influence of the disease, their countenances became so similar, as greatly to resemble each other.

The child next passed into the second stage of the trance, which was characterized by a beautiful calmness and quietness, and with her arms meekly folded she began to preach. Her manner in speaking was that of purest oratory; her tones were earnest and solemn, and the language of that spiritual character which, when awake, it would have been impossible for her to use. The bishop noted down her little discourse on his return home, and an analysis of it shows it to be an edifying practical address, perfectly conformable to the pure spirit of the Gospel, and suited to an unsophisticated audience. During its delivery the child had something saint-like in her appearance. Her utterance was soft and clear, not a word was retracted or repeated; and her voice, which in her waking state had a peculiar hoarseness, had now a wonderful brilliancy and clearness of tone, which

produced great effect. The whole assembly observed the deepest silence, and many wept. The parents of these children informed the bishop that they had during this time tolerable appetites, but that they preferred milk and fruits. Many of the patients were cured by medicines administered by the bishop, who concludes by saying that the phenomenon lies out of the sphere of human knowledge, but that its extraordinary character has produced a great religious movement and wrought much good. It has sent multitudes to church who never went there, and many have been thereby reclaimed from the error of their ways. Many passages in their history will strikingly remind the reader of the early Quakers. The number of persons affected in the province of Skaraborg alone, where the disease did not prevail so generally as in other parts, amounted in 1843 to 3000; but in many places impostors affected the disease to gain a livelihood, and brought the real patients into discredit. The clergy and the doctors everywhere used all their endeavours to extinguish the movement, and by the end of 1843 it had almost ceased. Nothing of the kind has since appeared, but the good effect it produced on the mind of many a hardened sinner remains to testify of its truth and reality, although no one, whether learned in the science of physical or spiritual life, can yet explain the cause and nature of this extraordinary mental phenomenon.

The Preaching Epidemic has several features in common with the American manifestations, in which young children, even under five years of age, have acted as media. Both retain also the common feature of being an epidemic or sympathetic affection, though the cause in both cases must remain at present involved in difficulty and mystery.

To the same cause we are inclined to attribute the frenzy which raged at one time in New England, and is familiar to all readers of American History as the Salem witchcraft.

The New England mind was singularly susceptible to impressions of a spiritual and supernatural character, and the period of her history in which this peculiar frenzy prevailed was one of difficulty and despondency. Indian wars of the most fearful character had ravaged her frontiers, and

the English Government, jealous of the growing independency of her colonies, and especially of Massachusetts, not only curtailed her liberties, but threatened her with the loss of her charter; a circumstance which the whole of New England regarded as a national calamity, an infliction of Divine wrath for supposed sins and shortcomings. More especially, however, was this the case as regarded Massachusetts, in which a spirit of latitudinarianism and unbelief, the natural reaction of that extreme rigidity of Puritanism which had been the glory of the generation now passing away, began to prevail: to oppose this freedom of religious faith, and to meet in a spirit of humiliation the sorrows of the time, Puritan Massachusetts increased the strictness of her religious observances, humbled herself as in sackcloth and ashes, and sought with fasting and prayer the causes of the Divine displeasure. It was at this time, when the public mind, as will be easily seen, was in a state of extreme susceptibility, that the first cases of witchcraft occurred.

The laws of England, which admitted witchcraft, and punished it with death, had been adopted in Massachusetts, strengthened by the Scriptural Judaic command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live;" and as early as 1645 the mania commenced, and persons at Boston and other towns were taken up and tried, and one individual executed for this supposed crime.

"Among other evidences," says the historian Hildreth, "of a departure from the ancient landmarks, and of the propagation even in New England of a spirit of doubt, were the growing suspicions of the reality of that every-day supernaturalism which formed so prominent a feature of the Puritan theology. Against this rising incredulity, Increase Mather had, in 1684, published a book of 'Remarkable Providences,' which enumerated and testified to the truth of all the supposed cases of witchcraft which had occurred in New England, with arguments to prove their reality."

As the sight of an execution for murder creates in the mind of the debased a morbid passion for the committal of the crime, so did the publication of this work soon give rise to a supposed case of witchcraft. A house at Newbury was said to be haunted or bewitched, and the wife of the occu-

pant, a wretched old woman, was accused as a witch. Seventeen people came forward on her trial to charge her with misfortunes which had happened to them in the course of their lives, and, but for the firmness and good sense of Simon Bradstreet, and the abrogation of the charter which just then took place, and gave people something else to think of, she would have been executed on the charge.

Mather, however, had sown seed which fell into fruitful ground, and in due course sprang up, being fostered in the meantime by the republication, in Boston, of the works of Richard Baxter and the authority of Sir Matthew Hale. In 1688, therefore, the morbid imaginations of the people, already predisposed, being excited by this mental food, cases of witchcraft were discovered. The four children of a "pious family" in Boston, the eldest a girl of thirteen, began to be strangely affected, barking like dogs, purring like cats, being at times deaf, dumb, or blind; having their limbs distorted, and complaining of being pricked, pinched, pulled, and cut. A pious minister was called in, witchcraft was suspected, and an old Irish woman, an indented servant of the family, who had scolded the children in Irish because her daughter was accused of theft, was taken up on the charge. Five ministers held a day of fasting and prayer, and the old woman was tried, found guilty, and executed.

"Though Increase Mather," says Hildreth, "was absent, he had a zealous representative in his son, Cotton Mather, a young minister of five-and-twenty, a prodigy of learning, eloquence, and piety, recently settled as colleague with his father over Boston North Church. Cotton Mather had an extraordinary memory, stuffed with all sorts of learning. His application was equal to that of a German professor. His lively imagination, trained in the school of puritan theology, and nourished on the traditionary legends of New England, of which he was a voracious and indiscriminate collector, was still further stimulated by fasts, vigils, prayers, and meditations, almost equal to those of any Catholic saint. Like the Jesuit missionaries of Canada, he often believed himself, during his devotional exercises, to have direct and personal communication with the Deity. In every piece of good fortune he saw an answer to his

prayers; in every calamity or mortification, the especial personal malice of the devil or his agents."

In order to study these cases of witchcraft at his leisure, Cotton Mather took one of the bewitched to his house, and the devil within her flattered his religious vanity to the extreme. He preached and prayed on the subject, calling witchcraft "a most nefandous treason against the Majesty on High," and wrote another book of "Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possession," in which he defied the modern Sadducee any longer to doubt. Four ministers testified to the unanswerable arguments which he thus set forth, as did also Richard Baxter in London.

Public attention thus turned to the subject, other cases of the same character soon occurred. Two young girls of Salem, the daughter and niece of Samuel Parris, the minister, began to be "moved by strange caprices," and being pronounced bewitched by a physician at Boston, Tituba, an old Indian woman, the servant of the family, was suspected, principally because she had volunteered to discover the witch by some magical rites. Of course, nothing was talked of but these girls; it was quite an interesting excitement; ministers met to pray; the whole town of Salem fasted and prayed, and a fast was ordered throughout the colony. The rage for notoriety, or the effects of these cases on the imagination of similarly nervous temperaments, soon produced their results, and not only were several girls affected in the same way, but poor old John, the Indian husband of Tituba.

The whole of Salem was agog, and the magistrates took up the matter solemnly. Accusations spread; two women —the one crazy, the other bed-ridden—were suspected, in addition to the others. Parris preached the next Sunday on the cases, and the sister of one of the accused left the church, which was enough to throw suspicion upon her. The deputy-governor of the colony came to Salem, and a great court was held in the meeting-house, five other magistrates and "a great crowd being present." Parris was the general accuser. The accused were held with their arms extended and their hands held open, lest by the least motion of their fingers they might inflict torments on their victims,

who sometimes appeared to be struck dumb or knocked down by the mere glance of their eye.

In the examinations in Salem meeting-house, some very extraordinary scenes occurred. "Look there," cried one of the afflicted, "there is Goody Procter on the beam." (This Goody Procter's husband, firmly protesting the innocence of his wife, had attended her to the court, and, in consequence, was charged by some of "the afflicted" with being a wizard.) At the above exclamation many, if not all, the bewitched, had grievous fits. *Question by the Court:* "Ann Putnam, who hurts you?" *Answer:* "Goodman Procter, and his wife too." Then some of the afflicted cry out, "There is Procter going to take up Mrs. Pope's feet;" and immediately her feet are taken up. *Question by the Court:* "What do you say, Goodman Procter, to these things?" *Answer:* "I know not; I am innocent!" Abigail Williams, another of the afflicted, cries out, "There is Goodman Procter going to Mrs. Pope;" and immediately the said Pope falls into a fit. *A Magistrate to Procter:* "You see the devil will deceive you; the children (so the afflicted were called) could see what you were going to do before the woman was hurt. I would advise you to repentance, for you see the devil is bringing you out!" Abigail Williams again cries out, "There is Goodman Procter going to hurt Goody Bibber;" and immediately Bibber falls also into a fit. And so on. But it was on evidence such as this that people were believed to be witches, and were hurried to prison and tried for their lives.

Tituba was flogged into confession; others yielded to influence more stringent than blows. Weak women, astonished at the charges and confessions of their accusers assured that they were witches, and urged to confess as the only means of saving their lives, were easily prevailed upon to admit any absurdities: journeys through the air on broomsticks, to attend a witch sacrament—a sort of travesty on the Christian ordinance—at which the devil appeared in the shape of a "small black man;" signing the devil's book renouncing their former baptism, and being baptised anew by the devil in "Wenham Pond," after the Anabaptist fashion. Called upon to tell who were present at these

sacrifices, the confessing witches wound up with new accusations. In a very short time near a hundred persons were in prison. Nor was the mischief limited to Salem; many persons were accused in Andover, Boston, and other towns.

On the 2d of June a special court at Salem was appointed for the trial of a poor old friendless woman, one Bridget Bishop, who was accused by Samuel Parris. Another poor woman, Deliverance Hobbs by name, among other things, was accused, as Cotton Mather relates, "of giving a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem, and immediately a demon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." She protested her innocence, but was hanged on the 10th of June.

Cotton Mather, and the other ministers of Boston and Charlestown, were loud in their gratitude and praise of this zeal in the cause, and the accusations and trials and condemnations proceeded. It was a chapter out of the history of the middle ages.

It remained for the science and better knowledge of the present day to explain these witch phenomena according to psychological and natural laws. At that time they were believed to be no less than the work of the devil, and as such were punished. "We recommend," said the minister of that stern puritan religion which had now grown rampant in severity, "the speedy and rigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious;" and the court accordingly, on the 30th of June, condemned five women of blameless lives, all protesting their innocence. Of these five, Rebecca Nurse, whose sister had left the church when Samuel Parris was preaching a violent sermon against witches, was at first acquitted on insufficient evidence, and a reprieve was granted by Governor Phipps. But Parris, who seemed to have been a man of a virulent disposition, could not bear to see an especial object of his hatred—one against whom he had preached and denounced from the pulpit—escape. The subservient governor recalled the reprieve, and the following communion-day she was taken in chains to the meeting-house, excommunicated, and hanged with the rest.

The frenzy increased. On August 3d, six more were arraigned; and John Willard, an officer who had been em-

ployed to arrest suspected persons, declining to serve any longer, was accused by the "afflicted,"—*afflicted*, indeed!—condemned, and hanged. Among those who suffered with Willard was Procter, the husband of Elizabeth Procter, her execution having been delayed on account of her pregnancy. He had truly and manfully maintained his wife's innocence, and, as we have already related, been himself accused; others witnessed against him under the agony of torture, and he was condemned. He was a man of firm and clear character, and petitioned for trial in Boston, but to no purpose. The behaviour and execution of this man sank deep into the public mind, and offended many. Still greater was the effect produced by the execution of George Burroughs, himself a minister, who was accused of witchcraft because he denied its possibility. He was formerly the minister at Salem; afterwards at Saco, whence he had been driven by the Indian war, and was now, to his own sorrow, once more in Salem, where he had many enemies. Among other things charged against him was the fact that, though small of size, he was remarkably strong, whence it was argued that his strength was the gift of the devil. "On the ladder," says Bancroft, "he cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, and by repeating the Lord's Prayer composedly and exactly with a fervency that astonished all. Tears flowed to the eyes of many; it seemed as if the spectators would rise up to hinder the execution. Cotton Mather, on horseback, among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs as no true minister, insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light; and the hanging proceeded."

On September 9th, six women were found guilty and condemned; and a few days later, again eight women; while Giles Cory, an old man of eighty, who refused to plead, was pressed to death—a barbarous usage of the English law, which, however, was never again followed in the colonies. On the 23rd of this month, the afflicted are stated by Hildreth to have amounted to about fifty; fifty-five had confessed themselves witches and turned accusers; twenty persons had already suffered death; eight more were under sentence. The jails were full of prisoners, and new accu-

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